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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Excerpts From Bilak's Memoirs Not Published in Prague

23000085 Vienna PROFIL in German
18 Apr 88 pp 54, 55

[Article by Otmar Lahodynsky: "Whiff of Moldavian Reform"]

[Text] Vasil Bilak, the top CPCZ ideologist, has received unusual backing. The new opposition journal LIDOVE NOVINY has demanded that the memoirs of that orthodox hardliner be published, through samizdat if need be.

The party organ RUDE PRAVO had withheld at the last moment a series of Bilak memoirs already set in print. Only the PRAVDA readers in Bratislava learned of the fractional battles within the party prior to the Prague Spring of 1986: how Bilak in December 1967 hatched the military coup in Prague against the ones in power at the time. He also portrayed the paranoia of the then party boss Antonin Novotny about the Slovaks. Afraid of being poisoned by comrades, at a reception in Bratislava, Novotny secretly swapped his martini glass for one served to the wife of one of the functionaries.

For Bilak's Politburo colleagues that was too hard to take. Bilak's tales of the political poison brew were banned from publication in Prague.

Bilak, a Ruthenian from East Slovakia, known to oppose any reforms, is among the big losers of the central committee session 10 days ago. Jan Fojtik, a more reform-oriented Czech, who in Plzen in 1986 had first called for a little perestroika (prestavba in Czech) against the torpor, moved up into the Politburo as a full member, where he was put in charge of ideological matters. Despite all the protestations that Fojtik and Bilak would work together, Fojtik might soon push the hardliner into a political no man's land.

Party boss Milos Jakes, newly chosen last December, criticized party mistakes with unusual severity in two speeches. He thundered against stagnation and petrification, saying the party should show sensitivity for the "concerns of the people" again. He also called for eliminating "a number of shortcomings that embitter the citizens." The services sector should be expanded. He promised an improvement in the market supply of consumer goods and a curbing of bureaucracy.

A Brezhnev protege and, later, Gorbachev disciple, Jakes also intends to reorganize the party structure greatly. Up to as much as one-third of the party apparatus is to be cut back, mainly on the local level, where he said the biggest mistakes had been made. Local bosses are to stay in office only up to 8 years; he himself would be available as party boss only for two more tenures, i.e., 10 years. By then he would be nearly 80 as it is.

He also deplored the fact that the comrades in the CSSR, with all their concern for normalization, evidently had forgotten about a long-term party program. After cracking down on the attempted "communism with a human face" 20 years ago, the mere term "reform" became taboo for a long time. The "lessons from the crisis development," formulated in 1970, the intraparty settlement of accounts with the Prague Spring, are still valid guidelines, said Karl Urbanek, the central committee member in charge of party organization, at a press conference last week.

In the government machinery, too, bigger changes are unlikely. Only the number of deputy-premiers is being reduced, and some ministries are being combined. The ministry of the interior takes over environmental matters. As if the big environmental damage in the CSSR could be fought by police methods!

Parliament is going to appoint the new central administration on 19 April. Lubomir Strougal, whose political end has been prophesied prematurely by some commentators, is likely to remain premier. That will make it rather tough for those in power in Prague to explain ex post facto why they canceled the invitation extended to [Austrian] Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

In any event, there is to be a bit of perestroika in the economy. Jozef Mueller, the central committee secretary in charge of the economy, explained the new course, probably based on a paradox, as follows: "We want an optimum of central management and a self-reliance and stronger initiatives in the enterprises." In the first interview he gave to a Western medium, Jakes told TIMES magazine he also wanted "to use the experience of capitalist states, including the United States."

In charging the Slovak party boss Jozef Lenart with "economic planning," he has loaded down his rival from Bratislava with a lot of work and pulled him from his local power base to Prague. Until chosen as party boss, Jakes, himself, had been engaged in that job.

The economic situation is rather gloomy. The national income lags behind all plan leads, many enterprises are obsolete, the technological distance from the world market is widening. In 1970 the Czech GNP had still been larger than that of Austria. Ten years later, the Austrian GNP was already twice that of the CSSR.

Above all, the unwieldy corporations, combining enterprises that often do not even produce similar commodities, are now to be taken apart. Jakes pushed the planned law on state enterprises that assign more in-house responsibility to the companies ahead by a half a year to July. Unprofitable enterprises are to be liquidated, if necessary. There is no anticipation of unemployment because technicians are still in short supply in industry.

"For 40 years we were used to directives from the top," says Pavel Pucelik, economic manager of the Tesla bulb factory in Prague-Holesovice. "We all still have a lot to learn." Thus far, he says, everything has been preassigned for the directors: production figures, prices, the number of workers and the level of wages, up to the profits, 85 percent of which goes to the state.

"They are demanding more initiative of us now," Pucelik complained to PROFIL. "But we still keep running into the old barriers."

The bulb factory is among the selected enterprises which have been experimenting with the new economic course since last year. The firm, with a 6,000-man work force, was separated from a mammoth concern that also produces TV equipment and computers, and has now been placed under the Ministry of Electrotechnical Industry. "Two-step management" is the fashionable term for it. The profit share for the state was dropped by 10 percent to 65 percent, the tax rate on wages was doubled in turn. Director Pucelik may even keep some of the earned foreign exchange from export, which still is being transacted by foreign trade companies. Yet there are clear limits to such independence. Prices still are set by the ministry, purportedly to keep inflation down.

There hardly is any wholesale trade, which causes enormous procurement problems. "I simply cannot be sure that I will get enough material for production," complains Pucelik.

The work force shows little enthusiasm for the new course, he says. "Many workers expected higher wages at once. For the rest, they have scant understanding for management problems." Pucelik is afraid that only parts of the reform will get enforced. "If we carry on the old way, again nothing will come of it."

Hard times are ahead for the comrades in the CSSR. The anniversary of the Prague Spring makes it very hard to explain why the reform ideas were fine but one still had to ask for "fraternal assistance" from Moscow in August 1986.

They are waiting with suspense for Gorbachev's reaction on that ticklish date. If he fails to mention the invasion, or even mentions it but negatively, the rulers in Prague will only have one way out, prophecies Jiri Dienstbier, an activist of the Charter 77 civil rights movement: "They will then claim the invasion was a mistake. It only stymied the comrades in their struggle against the conservative forces and thus for 20 years delayed perestroika in the CSSR and the Soviet Union."

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JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice Expanding Worldwide

Bulgarian Newsmen Visit JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice

24000105 Prague SVET V OBRAZECH in Czech
No 17, 1988 pp 6-9

[Article by Jaroslav Major: "What Is Flowering in Moravia"]

[Text] "Have you been to Slusovice?" Today, such a question no longer surprises anyone. It has become as common as asking someone whether he has seen the St Vitus Cathedral or the U Fleku beerhall in Prague.

Slusovice, more accurately the local JZD [United Agricultural Cooperative] Agrokombinat, has become a tourist attraction of note in Czechoslovakia. What is contributing to its popularity is not only what it has accomplished as an agricultural cooperative but also the number of tall stories circulating about it in our country. For example, the story which says that one of the cooperative's members is a close relative of an unnamed high official in Prague who holds a protective hand over the cooperative's activities. According to another fable, the very existence of the Warsaw Pact defense system itself depends on the armament production of this Moravian village. And I am sure that you are familiar with other such tales.

The bubble of lurid sensationalism (which is the last thing this cooperative is interested in) has finally burst and today the Gottwaldow region cooperative is pointed out as an example in many areas. So when we got to thinking where to hold our traditional meeting with the editorial staff of the Bulgarian paper POGLED, the choice fell quite spontaneously on the cooperative in Slusovice. We wanted to acquaint our guests with an agricultural enterprise which, while frequently called nontraditional, is, nevertheless, very successful. After all, we can take our guests to St Vitus or to U Fleku any time we want; but to delay a visit to Slusovice could be risky. What if somebody, somewhere decided that...?

Clear Terms

As is usually the case with our foreign guests, we tried to clarify our respective definitions of the basic question: What is modern agriculture? Soon we discovered that we had no exact criteria for evaluating it. What is it and how can it be measured? According to yields? Labor productivity? Consumption of chemical fertilizers? The degree of introduction of modern technology into the agricultural practice? It was clear that this would not provide the answer to our basic question.

In Bulgaria as in Czechoslovakia, agricultural newspaper columns are full of numbers announcing growth of per hectare yields, yet food stores do not seem to be able to satisfy the customer demand. True, the argument that

some countries are even worse off cannot be overlooked, but it cannot be used as an excuse either. And this brought us to the first clarification of terms.

It was the general manager of the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice, Frantisek Cuba, who helped us with this clarification when he characterized the development of Czechoslovak (and, I suspect, not only that country's) agriculture as follows:

"Basically we copy the West German and US agriculture. Certain activities are shifted from agriculture to service and food industry enterprises. This trend is so far-reaching that agriculture is retaining only the purely agricultural work in the fields and in taking care of the cattle in the barns. But hand in hand with this delimitation of individual activities goes the loss of profit. While all service and food organizations are profitable, agriculture in the whole world is becoming a losing proposition. That is also why the farmer's social status is quite low. This development has progressed the farthest in the United States where the farmer has become just a cog in an intricate technological system."

"The Cursed Profit"

A strange view: in its light, the newspaper columns referring to tons of surplus grains and hundreds of pounds of surplus meat acquire an entirely new dimension. Have we become too used to measuring agriculture and its productivity with the first-postwar-years yardstick when we were frankly interested only in quantity? Is it not time that we should more frequently ask ourselves the question how to determine the value of agricultural work?

We can use ordinary potatoes as an example. In cities we buy them in bags, in the country we still order them in bulk and store them at home somewhere in the basement (a tradition which has no parallel anywhere in the world). When we need potatoes, we find that they are largely inedible. Because of poor storage. In the city we cuss, people in the countryside express themselves in even racier terms. To this day we have not found anybody able to pin down the amount of losses from the annual potato harvest but, obviously, they must be huge.

In Slusovice they go about it differently:

They store their potatoes professionally; that's number one.

They peel their potatoes professionally; that's number two.

They sell these potatoes to private individuals as well as to schools, company cafeterias, and socialist organizations; that's number three.

On television, Slusovice has received praise for all that. But the cooperative is not interested in praise. It is after something else.

First: Potatoes, which, by the way, are not even grown by Slusovice but are purchased and transported from potato growers in the highlands and in Slovakia, are turned to use without losses.

Second: Potato peels do not end up in sewers but are used as fodder.

Third: Housewives cannot find enough praise for Slusovice for the time and effort it saves them.

The cooperative is doing all this with only one goal: To maximize profits.

And talking about profits, not too long ago this word smelled of the devil. When profit was discussed, then only in connection with the most condemnable business practices in the capitalist world. Profit was considered a naughty word like those for which misbehaving children receive a C for behavior.

In Slusovice one gets a different understanding of profit. Or maybe just a broader one. It is certain that after a tour of this remarkable enterprise, one starts to feel much more comfortable about the idea of profit.

Programs for the Cooperative and for Computers

One could find many more similar examples in the JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice, most of them in more technical and well grounded articles. As for our Bulgarian guests, for them every bit of information about the work methods, management and program of the cooperative was big news. And so we jointly went through the elementary "Slusovice Points."

The cooperative is concentrating on eight basic development programs:

1. Cultivation of corn
2. Raising of cattle
3. Manufacture of agricultural machinery and implements
4. Microelectronics
5. Agricultural chemistry
6. Biochemistry
7. Processing of agricultural products
8. Construction

We could write a television documentary series on each one of these ventures. There is no doubt that these would be shows about highly professional work.

In expert as well as lay circles, it is being seriously discussed today to what extent might the Slusovice program be exceeding its, let us say, traditional mandate. Does an agricultural cooperative, even if it carries in its title the proud attribute "Agrokombinat," have the right to get involved in the production of computers and computer software; should it be permitted to establish its own biotechnological program; is it even legal that Slusovice has its own department and grocery stores, has a brisk trade with foreign countries, and is getting ready to brew beer, the Slusovice Rebel? A lawyer will tell you that as long as it is not expressly forbidden, why not?

But one does not have to be a lawyer to accept all this thriving activity with understanding. One gets the impression that many of the programs have been developed in Slusovice out of dire need. Had Czechoslovak markets been saturated with computers and had companies been underbidding each other to sell agricultural software, the model TNS [That System of Ours] would not have seen the light of day. The same goes for the manufacture of agricultural machinery, agrochemical products, as well as for the outstanding cheese Forman sold in cans.

The Slusovice phenomenon has come into being simply and purely because somebody else is not doing what he has been paid for.

Even our Bulgarian guests saw that clearly.

Keeping in Step with the World

Our visit to Slusovice began with a discussion on the subject how to define modern agriculture. Slusovice has introduced to practice, at least on the CSSR territory, a number of modern technologies which rank at the top of European and world developments. We stopped at a plant called Transfer. It is a modern veterinarian center connected to a laboratory on one side and cow barns on the other. Here they carry out embryo transplants of highbred cattle.

Doctor Lubos Moravec gladly familiarized us with the entire process: From the removal of the embryo, which is performed seven days after insemination, to cooling and reimplantation. About 700 to 800 transfers are accomplished here every year. Earlier they were doing as many as 1,500. At present they are thinking of participation in the world market with highbred cattle embryos. Interest has been expressed in Western Europe and even in the distant Venezuela. For now they produce about 6,000 embryos per year, but should there be higher interest in the Slusovice embryos they would expand the production.

But we did not wish to write only about the embryo transfers which, by the way, have been taking place in Slusovice for over 12 years and have been described numerous times. We are interested in something quite different. It seems that the Slusovice embryo transfers became the basis for production relations with partners in the USSR. For some time now, the Slusovice people have been helping their colleagues in the town of Gottwald, district Gottwald, in the Kharkov oblast of the USSR, with the building of their own transfer center and with the training of experts. Also, this year there have been already three exchanges in the field of embryo transfers between the experts from Slusovice and a center in Adadyi in Latvia.

Embryo transfer is an example not only of modern, large agrobusiness technology, but also an example of what direct relations of enterprises with foreign countries should be about.

One does not usually meet West German trucks driving around our agricultural cooperatives. In Slusovice they are quite used to such sights. A new fruit processing center equipped with a Swedish high capacity Alfa-Laval press is quickly gaining customers in hard-currency countries. Like in other cases, the \$27 million in foreign currency investment has paid off very handsomely for Slusovice. Just consider the figures. JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice buys nonstandard apples for Kcs 1.90 per kilogram. From one ton of these apples (Kcs 1,900), it obtains about 130 kilograms of fruit concentrate used in the production of juices, lemonades, etc. This concentrate sells in our country for Kcs 44. Again for one kilogram. Going full speed, which is about 200,000 tons of apples per a four-months season, the press pays for itself in just four seasons. In addition to apples, they can also process sour cherries, currants, and citrus fruit. Under sanitary conditions which are the envy of the world.

In addition to West Germany, Austria also buys the Slusovice concentrate. But even that is not the end of the story. Smart tradesmen ship the concentrate on to Scandinavia and even across the Atlantic. And so, in the fruit-extract markets too, Slusovice keeps pace with the world.

Engr Stanislav Martin, who is in charge of the operation, is all of 27 years old.

Joint Slusovice-Vietnam Resort Under Discussion 24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech 13 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] As is known, a Vietnam Socialist Republic [VSR] delegation visited our cooperative during 12-24 Feb 88. One of the goals of the visit by the Oil Services Company of Vung Tau [OSC] representatives was to prepare an agreement for specific steps and principles in establishing a joint enterprise. The results of the meetings are

contained in the final Memorandum about Establishing Direct Economic Cooperation between JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice and Oil Services Company of Vung Tau.

Both sides agreed that the major focus of the initial stage of the activity of the new enterprise will be tourism. The headquarters will be in Vung Tau, a small seaside town in the south of Vietnam. This traditional tourist center which several of our members had the opportunity to visit, is the highpoint of one of the package tours to Vietnam arranged by our tourist office. However, the Vung Tau hotel capacity has not yet been fully exploited for recreation and it will be necessary to repair, modernize, and furnish the existing structures as well as to build additional hotels and other buildings which will ensure high quality tourist services. Part of these plans is to open a Vietnamese restaurant in Czechoslovakia and a Czech restaurant in Vietnam.

The goal of the first stage is to establish a high standard of services and gain the favor and trust of tourists not only from Czechoslovakia and Vietnam but also from other countries.

What will the parties contribute to the joint enterprise? From our side it will be construction technology, hotel furnishings, computer technology, and experience in construction and provision of services.

The OSC will provide the land, beaches, sea, and other natural riches, existing structures for recreation, construction materials, some of the furnishings, service experience (oriental kitchen, traditional services). Part of the joint enterprise will be related operations which are necessary to ensure high standards of services and a rapid development of the enterprise. With this goal in mind, the enterprise will invest in road rebuilding, transportation, production of goods and foodstuffs, in growing agricultural products and other associated activities.

But we do not wish to limit ourselves to tourism. We anticipate, for example, the building of an independent transportation enterprise which would ensure transportation not only for us but also for the needs of Vietnamese organizations. Much depends, however, on the availability of fuels. The oil and gasoline situation in Vietnam is quite complicated.

Concurrently with the establishment of the Enterprise for Construction and Development of Tourism, other discussions are under way.

We have received specific offers for the delivery of tropical produce and are currently conducting a marketing research on the possible interest for it in Czechoslovakia. We are also interested in coproducing certain microelectronic components.

At the beginning of April, a 6-member JZD AK [Agrokombinat] Slusovice party is leaving for Ho Chi Minh City. Our representatives are to determine the details of the intended joint activities and judge on the spot the practicality of the proposed programs. On the basis of their business trip, we will develop details of further cooperation between the Slusovice cooperative and Vietnamese organizations.

Mutual Interest in Microelectronics Discussed with Poland

*24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech
7 Apr 88 p 3*

[Text] Foreign Trade Enterprise METRONEX of Warsaw, in cooperation with the Polish production enterprise MERA-ZAP Ostrow Wlkp. and Czechoslovak JZD AK Slusovice, held a symposium during 22-23 March 1988 on the subject of impulse stabilized generators for computer technology.

Chief engineer Eduard Oskera from the Slusovice microelectronics department told us: "The symposium took place in the Zadverice motel with the Polish experts participating. In addition to listening to the reports and introduction of products and technical innovations, the participants also inspected the cooperative. Representatives of the production enterprise MERA ZAP acquainted the participants with their current and future products. Beginning with May 1988, the mikroelectronics department of JZD AK Slusovice will start using MERA ZAP generators for its TNS computers and expects further expansion of the cooperation with the Polish partners." The director of the METRONEX office in Prague, engineer Edvard Kalinowski, and one of his engineers, Andrej Gola, told us: "Based on this year's experience with the symposium, we expect to arrange similar symposia every year. This year's was about generators. Cooperation with our enterprise need not be confined to this area but may include print shops, displays, or other materials in short supply which are currently not available on the markets.

"We started cooperating with JZD AK Slusovice two years ago and we highly value your interest because you are a partner with high standards. For your information, METRONEX as a foreign trade enterprise has 56 Polish stockholders who, through our instrumentality, sell and buy on the world markets. In 1988, export to CSSR through the intermediary services of our enterprise came to 5.5 billion zloty. This makes you our second largest partner after the USSR. Our trade with the Western countries came to over \$100 million.

"In conclusion, I would like to thank JZD AK Slusovice for the opportunity to arrange the symposium at their facility. I think that is interesting and beneficial to all the parties involved."

The two-day event was successfully conducted by the Agropublic enterprise JZD AK Slusovice, in cooperation with the Slusovice departments of microelectronics and cybernetics. [NOTE: The Polish-manufactured impulse stabilized generators imported to Slusovice are: EZP 05 & 04]

JZD AK Slusovice Establishes Its Own Bank Network

24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech
23 Mar 88 p 3

[Text] An intra-enterprise bank which has been under construction in the Slusovice cooperative since the beginning of this year, had its festive inauguration Friday, 4 March 1988. The bank will have a broader range of activities than could be assumed from its name. It is a unit which will promote entrepreneurial activity and coordinate intra-enterprise financing based on full khozraschet. It takes advantage of the modern computer technology established in its network. In connection with the bank's opening, I asked the Slusovice economic vice-president, Doc Engr Frantisek Trnka, for an interview.

Q. The newly established unit is to motivate entrepreneurship in operations. How?

A. The basic concept of starting an intra-enterprise banking system is to strengthen the role of our managers as economists-entrepreneurs. The operations manager and his technicians "create their own capital" and manage it within certain accepted rules, i.e., they finance production costs and create resources to fund wages, travel, representation and other requirements. They also have the opportunity of deciding what share of this capital they transfer to the central use of the entire cooperative. However, the less they return to the center, the smaller will be the share they may receive for their own needs, and vice versa. Retained earnings are directly dependent on the creation of enterprise capital. This meets the requirement that what is good for the smaller collective and the individual must also be good for the enterprise as a whole. From the societal point of view, this is the expansion of the principle and requirements of a khozraschet work place. The opening of the bank should strengthen the initiative of the enterprise employees.

Q. Can you explain to us how exactly your bank will operate?

A. The bank makes possible financial arrangements between the production and trade partners. Each participant in the production process (operation) opens an account with the bank to which the revenue of that unit is deposited and pays by check for the material, wages, and other expenses. The more cash he generates, the more he has left over for his own use. The bank's headquarters is in Nove Dvory, but it will have 17 branches located in the most important areas of the

cooperative. The branches as well as the headquarters are equipped with TNS computers and mutually interconnected. Each participant can take care of his business at any of the branches. The payments are made by check. The branch transfers the check information via the computer network for central processing and provides members with information on the state of their account. The operating funds, the so-called balance of the operating account, can be transferred during the monthly accounting to the account of the cooperative. Thus the operation creates capital for the overhead of the enterprise, the department, wages, modernization, and the joint cooperative fund.

Q. How about granting of operating credits?

A. The enterprise bank can, of course, provide credits. Particularly in the area of temporary bridge loans arising from a time dissonance between obtaining supplies, their operational utilization, and the actual sale of the product.

Q. Will there be a change in the interest-bearing current accounts?

A. This service to our cooperative membership will remain unchanged. It is sufficiently familiar to everyone and, therefore, there is no need to expand on it.

Q. How did you make sure that accountants and managers are informed about the ways of using the bank?

A. We held detailed seminars for all economists and accountants who will be in daily contact with the bank. In addition to professional lectures, they received written instructions on how to use the various types of checks, how to cooperate with the bank headquarters, etc. The managers will receive summaries of these instructions. The work of the intra-enterprise bank will continue to be improved and its scope of operations expanded to payment contacts outside our cooperative.

Chinese Delegation Interested in Future Cooperation

24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech
16 Mar 88 p 2

[Text] The science and technology counselor of the People's Republic of China embassy, Mei Yin Fang, and the embassy's third secretary, Li Lianz Hong, visited our JZD last week. In a short interview, Comrade Yin Fang said: "This is my third visit to your agrokombinat. As always I am leaving with the strongest feelings of admiration of the Slusovice development which is rapid but extremely well thought out. I am also impressed that you do not isolate yourself but are willing to share your experience unselfishly with others, and not just within your own country. In my opinion you are an exemplary enterprise in all respects, and not only for the socialist camp. Please, do not take it as a compliment, these are my deeply felt impressions.

"In the area of mutual cooperation we have many areas of common interest. Currently we are interested in cultivating corn. If we are successful, it can be expected that we will find many other projects and areas of joint interest. After all, both our countries have a common goal-communism. That is why our close and noncompetitive cooperation is completely natural and also necessary. We see future cooperation in the area of biotechnology, and particularly in the exchange of scientific and technological experiences which are in the forefront of other specific areas of mutual interest. Most certainly we will also look for other forms of cooperation such as, for example, a mutual exchange of experts, holding of symposia, exchange of information, etc.

"A broad horizon of mutually beneficial cooperation is just opening before us and it is up to us to show how we can take full advantage of it."

UN Economic Commission Experts Meet in Slusovice

*24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech
9 Mar 88 p 3*

[Text] A group of experts who are members of the UN Economic Commission met in Slusovice during 23-25 February 1988 to discuss economic utilization of joining the Danube-Oder-Elbe rivers. Experts from Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia participated in the meeting which was held in a Slusovice facility. The CSSR delegation consisted of the representatives of the Ministry of Transportation, Federal Planning Commission, and the Transportation Research Institute. The meeting discussed some fundamental questions of economic, fiscal and legal nature. Also included in the meeting were managers of our agrokombinat who are anticipating an economically advantageous opportunity to transport our goods, particularly bulk substrates. Representatives of individual delegations were received on Wednesday, 24 February 1988, by the JZD AK Slusovice general manager, Doc. Frantisek Cuba. At their last meeting, the commission formulated measures for further development of this useful plan. Even its partial implementation, making the Morava River navigable, will have a significant effect on the transportation system of the entire South Moravia Region.

Millions of Wrappers for Food Industry From Slusovice

*24000105 Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech
20 Apr 88 p 3*

[Text] Shortages in foodstuff packaging are so painfully evident that even the 17th CPCZ Congress had to take a stand on the matter. The Congress determined that in each succeeding five-year plan the manufacture of plastic wrappers will have to double. JZD AK Slusovice reacted flexibly to this problem. In the middle of the last year it started production of plastic packaging on machinery

obtained from the Austrian company Greiner, and this year it is already supplying the food industry with millions of plastic containers made of clean, medically approved raw materials.

"The two largest customers with whom we have signed business contracts for the supply of plastic foodstuff wrappers are Lacrum in Brno and the Tukovy Prumysl," says manager of the operation Zdenek Mikula. "The Hodonin enterprise Lacrum, for example, requires 3 million containers for cheese, Zdounky is asking for 4 million containers for their frozen creme Terno. In Bystrice pod Hostivari, they will be filling them this year with creamed butter. Lacrum in Brno is waiting for another million containers which it intends to use for cottage cheese. They are reserving one-half million containers for the product they are developing.

"From the enterprises of the Tukovy Prumysl came Cosmos Caslav with a requirement for 2.2 million containers for their whipped margarines Ceres and Delika. Vitana in Bysice and North Bohemian Tukove Zavody in Usti nad Labem need another million containers each for their products. Naturally, we also make packaging for the needs of our own JZD AK Slusovice food processing plants. And a number of other small enterprises like Jednota, Potraviny, and others are all asking for supplies. Even though we want to keep the good name of our agrokombinat, it is not always in our power to supply everybody. The capacity of our production line is running non-stop the year round in four shifts."

Let us also add that we imprint the packaging using a machine of a Dutch manufacturer, Van Dam. When a customer does not provide us with his own proposal for packaging, our own artist Norbert Pelc makes the design for him. He takes full advantage of his modern machinery which provides prints in up to five colors.

Slusovice Stores Providing New Types of Services

*24000105 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
26 Apr 88 p 3*

[Text] Who in our country would not wish to have well functioning services? This is not exactly a modest wish when we consider the state of our services. A customer may consider himself lucky if he manages to get fresh bread, rolls, milk or milk products every time he goes shopping. If he is interested in a more varied selection of foodstuffs, he can expect to suffer through a Calvary of searching in dozens of stores without being sure of the outcome. To determine the right reasons why there is such a shortage of basic foodstuffs on our shelves is not at all simple and the fault does not lie, by any means, with the stores alone. In the end, one finds how imperfect are the relations between the sales and supply organizations, how vulnerable and threatened they are in their basic function.

It is thus all the more surprising to discover that in Slusovice there exist trade services and even other types of organizations which function every day, perfectly, and offer a broad spectrum of activities. They call them Agroservices and offer them to all members of the local agricultural cooperative. Purchases to carry? No problem! Just fill out a simple order form and select from 30 kinds of foodstuffs. You don't have to worry at all about that major Sunday shopping trip. To have milk and pastry delivered to your house every morning for breakfast for a monthly fee of Kcs 50 need not be just wishful thinking; it is but one of the daily responsibilities of the Slusovice Agroservices.

Why do the services function here? Perhaps because the cooperative has its own bakery and dairy processing plant, both of which must work just as effectively as the other operations here: that means that supply and demand are taken care of within the framework of a single enterprise and that they are driven by the common interest of all in prosperity. Another point is just as satisfying. It is enough that the cooperative members express interest in a service and, voila, it is in existence. The Agroservices establishment really cares for the working women, the retirees, for all kinds of hobbyists... It is certainly not an exaggerated claim to say that in JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice you can have any service for an appropriate price.

Perhaps you will ask, how come? After all, it is no secret that Agroservices are subsidized by a not exactly paltry sum from the cooperative's funds. As the services expand, the loss becomes greater. But is the final total really a loss? In the words of top managers, the cooperative members are worth it. And for a good reason: they are expected to turn in top level performance at their own workplaces and therefore should get nothing less than top level services. The managers want the cooperative members to feel satisfied with their life here, in provincial Southern Moravia, and not yearn for the advantages of living in a large city. The fulfilled wishes of the Slusovice cooperative members can be a good example for others—whether they are service suppliers or consumers. Which one of us would not want to have well functioning services...?

Mikroelektronika Developments Reported

24000105 Prague ZEMEDLSKE NOVINY in Czech
19 May 88 p 2

[Text] At the end of last year we reported on the foundation of the R&D Association Mikroelektronika dedicated to the task of making a contribution to the electronization in our lives. In other words, to the effort of making sure, together with the established and committed organizations of the electrical engineering industry, that the lag in introduction and use of modern technology, when compared with the rest of the world, be

alleviated. We are returning to the activities of Mikroelektronika after more than one-half year later because, in the meantime, a second meeting of the association council, that is of representatives of the member organizations, has taken place.

Experts estimate that if we wanted to compare ourselves with the industrially developed countries, we should have at least one and one-half million computers in use in our country. For now we have a paltry 100,000 of them in operation and many of them do not meet the current standards. This alone makes it apparent what kind of demanding and extensive task has the Mikroelektronika association set out for itself. And even if it cannot on its own resolve the problems in the foreseeable future, it is setting quite ambitious goals for itself.

Not Only Computers

Currently the association consists of 122 members; electrical engineering enterprises, cooperative farms, state farms, production cooperatives, university research, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and Czechoslovak Radio and Television. Agricultural organizations play a significant role. As far as computers are concerned, JZD Agrokombinat Slusovice clearly has the leading role and acts as a sort of guarantor in this area. It is not without interest to note that the CSR agricultural branch produces components worth about Kcs 550 million to supply the electronic industry.

Since the very beginning, the association has selected three areas for its activity. First is the advancement of computer technology, including software and services. The second is products of consumer electronics which are not provided by the so-called big industry. Sponsorship for this area has been assumed by the production cooperative members in Brno who are already planning some products, such as toys and kitchen or domestic technology. The last area is industrial application of microelectronics as, for example, in management technologies, an area where designing work has just started.

As indicated, the association has accomplished most in the first area of interest. Here it has set itself a specific goal—to produce 214,000 eight-bit and sixteen-bit personal computers by 1990, and to achieve an annual production capacity of 150,000 computers. Although this will not significantly reduce our shortage of almost one and one-half million units, it is, nevertheless, a feat at the very frontiers of our current capabilities. This is indicated by the problems the association has already run into after one year of effort: it is running into difficulties with foreign currency shortage, causing a 25 percent reduction in the planned production of 40,000 computers. There is hope, however, that the association will be able to catch up in the foreseeable future because some improvements are already in sight. There is no need for customers to be nervous because the association announced that, with certain exceptions, it will not

require foreign currency participation on their part. This decision, incidentally, has caused customers to take Slusovice by storm, as they rushed to place their orders for over 170,000 units.

Foreign Countries Show Interest

Mikroelektronika is a rather unique structure in our country. Its activities are based on full khozraschet, yet it has a consortium character. Of itself, it does not have any directive or enforcing powers. All member organizations retain full legal independence and their participation takes place on the basis of routine business contracts. Nevertheless, the association is creating a favorable climate and conditions; it makes possible a useful joining of forces toward selected goals.

This is significant for each individual organization, and is appreciated particularly under the conditions of the new economic mechanisms. For example, in selecting the best production program which would ensure it a continued market, an organization need not be hampered by doubt. This is because the association is currently creating a sort of a reserve supply of work tasks in process, which includes requirements for the production of various furnishings, elements, or components from which each member can select what they can fulfill. They can also depend on the assistance of others in case of problems. In this respect, the association is making efforts to establish, among others, a joint fund from which it could finance important innovative and modernizing undertakings.

In its own way, the Mikroelektronika is walking in uncharted territory which resembles more the future economic mechanism than today's practices. And that causes it to run into administrative barriers when negotiating with various procrastinating bureaus. Some basic conditions for its activities must also be established. For example, in the field of cooperation with foreign countries. It would be an illusion to think that the association can get along with only domestic resources. There is no way that could be done; it would be unrealistic even for countries which are much more advanced in electronics. France, for instance, produced by its own efforts roughly one-third of the components used domestically and imports the rest. In our country, the reverse is true, a fact which has, understandably, an unfavorable effect on quality, quantity, and price.

Mikroelektronika welcomes that in only a few months of its existence interest has already been created in some foreign countries to apply for membership. Cooperation is being offered by Hungary, Bulgaria, USSR, and Vietnam, as well as France and West Germany. For now there is no framework for such participation and involvement, and so it is premature to think about their

potential contribution. Nevertheless, foreign participation is one of the significant possibilities for the achievement of the goals the association has set for itself, goals which have to do with the greater productivity which we are constantly calling for in our economy.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, May 1988

23000086a East Berlin EINHEIT in German
Vol 43 No 5, May 88 (signed to press 13 Apr 88)
pp 386, 479

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy and chairman of the Sociological Research Council; pp 391-397]

Culture-Education-Personality

[Text] How can culture and education be effectively developed economically and socially and be efficiently used? Which new demands does the coping with scientific-technical progress place on culture, education, and advanced training as well as on preserving and cultivating traditional attitudes and modes of behavior? Which requirements have to be met for attaining a noticeable personality gain for all citizens and making that fruitful for modern productive forces and social development? On the stabilization of educational structures—experiences, consequences.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Rudolph, director of the GDR's Central Institute for Vocational Training, corresponding member of the GDR's Pedagogical Sciences Academy; pp 398-403]

Vocational Training for the Present and the Future

[Text] The great dynamics of our economy and the increasing change in its structure due to the key technologies call for new ideas also in vocational training so as to be up to it. How do they crystallize in the new lesson plans for all technical trades? How do we focus advanced vocational training on the higher demands? What is to be done to recruit young specialists for the intended vocational structure?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Schulz, research director at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism at the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy and corresponding member of the GDR's Academy of Sciences; pp 404-411]

Advantages of Socialism While Labor Is Changed by the Scientific-Technical Revolution

[Text] Organizing according to plan the interconnection between the development of the modern productive forces in our country and the well-timed preparation of the working people for new types of labor and the

continued formation of the social labor capacity belongs among the proven advantages of our socialist society. What is the functional social mechanism like that has been formed for it, which guarantees both preserving the rights of the working people and social security?

[Summary of article by Prof Walter Richter, deputy minister for Agriculture, Forestry, & Foodstuffs; and Dr Horst Roessling, head of the training and advanced training department in the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry, & Foodstuffs; pp 412-418]

Training in Agriculture

[Text] The birth and growth of our socialist agriculture have for decades been tied in with the formation of a comprehensive vocational training and advanced training system. In view of the tremendous productive forces development and the achievements agriculture must come up with, training priorities in the countryside seeking highest yields and results are being discussed with the idea of pointing to effective ways to acquire knowledge and develop new skills and facilities and the management tasks that go with them.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, chief editor of EINHEIT, member of the SED Central Committee; pp 422-431. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

Socialism and the New Stage of the Scientific-Technical Revolution

[Text] Contribution to the conference of the chief editors of theoretical journals in which, proceeding from the importance of the scientific-technical revolution for the future of socialism, its complexity is being portrayed and the coping with which, in conformity with the conditions in the GDR, is shown specifically as a process of large transformations to be cautiously considered in the sequence of its steps. What reflects the search for always optimum solutions? About the common features composing its communist identity and the differences in approach by the parties to creatively enforcing the universal inevitabilities.

[Summary of article by Dr Uwe Moeller, deputy director of the political economy and economic sciences division in the SED CC's Karl Marx Party College; pp 432-437]

Keeping in Step With the Race of the Time

[Text] To stand up in the technological battle that is raging all over the world, our party has made vital decisions for our country in good time by focusing on the key technologies, especially in the decisions on micro-electronics. What are the priority tasks today for gaining leads in important positions in the race against time and achieving a new quality of economic growth? How do we use the advantages of our socialist planned economy for it?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hubert Laitko, section chief at the Institute for Theory, History, and Organization of Science in the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 438-444]

The History of Science and Technology in Ordinary Life

[Text] What role is played by the history of science and technology in the intellectual-cultural life of our society? Wherein lies its ideological and educational function? How does it foster the pride in what has already been achieved in science, technology and production and, hence, the citizens' close ties to their homeland? What makes the confrontation with history a source for our own creative acts coping with the scientific-technical progress in our time?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lutz Maier, deputy director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR; pp 445-450]

Karl Marx' Analysis of Capital and New Tendencies in State Monopoly Capitalism

[Text] In the antagonistic relations between productive forces and production relations Marx found the key for analyzing crisis processes in the capitalist economy and society and for the conditions emerging in further development. Which place must be assigned to that question today when state monopoly controls are being reorganized? What are the main trends that can be made out in the changing relations between the state and the monopolies. What effects results therefrom for the situation and fighting conditions of the working class?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hannes Skambraks science associate at the SED CC's Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 451-456]

'Das Kapital' in Marx-Engels Research

[Text] A complete reconstruction in terms of the history of ideas of the genesis and development of Marx' chief-d'oeuvre documents how deeply Marx' insights are rooted in the knowledge of humanity and how critically he absorbed it. With the first edition of "Das Kapital" (1867) there began a process of reception and absorption that has since provided generations of the revolutionary workers movement with a program guideline and constructive material for creatively extending it and acting on it.

[Summary of article by Prof Peter Jegzentis, top assistant at the Bruno Leuschner College for Economics; pp 457-461]

Capital Export and Neocolonialist Looting

[Text] The capital export from imperialist states to the developing countries, the chief agents of which are multinational cooperations and international banks, is a

major tool for looting those countries. What marks the export of entrepreneurial capital? What is the connection between exporting on lent capital and the indebtedness crisis in the developing countries? How does state capital export develop? Which way leads to the needed rollback of neocolonialist structures in the mechanism of capital export?

[Summary of article by Siegfried Ullrich, graduate social scientist, department head at the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 462-465]

Homelessness—Disgrace of a System

[Text] Statements of principle are derived from a detailed portrayal of concrete manifestations and developmental tendencies of increasing homelessness in imperialist countries. About this evil's roots of the old society under capitalist circumstances and its ties to the arms buildup policy and the welfare cuts, about the possibility to counter the growth of homelessness through the struggle of the workers movement and all progressive forces, about capitalism's inability to resolve the housing problem as a social problem, and about the incompatibility between capitalist reality and human rights and human dignity.

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POLAND

POLITYKA Weekly News Roundup
26000340a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish
No 18, 30 Apr 88 p 2

[Excerpts]

National News

The Sejm discussed housing policy, plant systems of remuneration, the Workers' Vacation Fund. Two proposed changes to the Constitution received their first readings. Article 49 is to have the following statement added to it: "The people's councils control municipal property, as defined by a law." Article 50 is to have the following sentence added to it: "A council member cannot be brought to criminal or legal responsibility nor arrested without the agreement of the people's council of which he is a member and between sessions without the agreement of its presidium."

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee recommended "radically accelerating and deepening the review of organizational structures and certification of positions." The Politburo pointed to the need "to strengthen actions accelerating the promotion of brigade forms of work in every voivodship."

A gala concert at the Polish Theater in Warsaw was the central element of the celebration of the anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid

between Poland and the Soviet Union. It coincided with the first anniversary of the signing of the declaration of cooperation in ideology, science, and culture by W. Jaruzelski and M. Gorbachev.

According to a report by the Central Office of Statistics, the average monthly wage without payments from profits and balance surpluses in the five basic sectors of the socialized economy during the first quarter of 1988 in comparison with first quarter of 1987 was 45.9 percent higher and in March 44.4 percent higher. Retail prices for goods and services for consumers rose during this same period by about 45 percent, but excluding prices for alcohol and tobacco by about 37 percent. Food prices rose by 46 percent; in socialized stores by 42 percent and in non-socialized stores and markets by 66 percent. Prices for alcoholic beverages were 57 percent higher; non-food articles were 40 percent higher. Prices for services rose by 47 percent.

The Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers is preparing corrections to the investment plan for 1986-90. Relief for the investment program would occur as a result primarily of the decision already made to halt construction of the Stefanow Hard Coal Mine in the Lublin coal basin and to delay or limit the investment outlays for the construction of three other mines, including the Mikolow mine. The date for beginning construction of the sugar refinery in Tysowice has been pushed back and investments behind schedule or barely begun by budgetary units or enterprises have been halted. An evaluation is to be made of the possibility of limiting investments at the Katowice Steelworks and at the construction shipyards.

A congress of the Union of Rural Youth, which has more than 450,000 young members from rural areas, met. The congress elected a new chairman, Roman Kupijaj (31 years old), a private farmer from the Kalisz Voivodship. (He was the candidate opposing the previous chairman of the Executive Board Jerzy Gluszynski.) The day before the congress he spoke at the plenum of the Kalisz PZPR Voivodship Committee devoted to the problems of youth (nearly half of the residents of the voivodship are less than 30 years old.) "Young people do not believe and will not believe in a socialism that cannot manage its economy, education, or civilization. We were supposed to be in the vanguard; but we are behind; we were to be a model; but we have become a debtor."

Doctors in Krakow compared the health of selected residents of the Lenin Steelworks area with that of residents of the village of Tokarnia (Krakow City Voivodship). Around the works there were a greater number of impairments to the respiratory tract and greater symptoms of high blood pressure, obesity, and higher cholesterol and sugar levels in the blood in women.

The security services in Wroclaw discovered and a collegium has punished the organizers of an illegal printing plant. Fines of 50,000 zloty per person and confiscation of the questioned equipment, publications, and a

Skoda automobile used to transport the illegal publications were imposed. The apartment in which the illegal printing plant was located, whose owner is abroad, was handed over to the housing cooperative.

In Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw, workers of the municipal transit system raised some proposals on working conditions and wages. Not all of the steps included in the law for resolving the conflict have been exhausted prior to making a decision to strike. Discussions with the representatives of the management and the city and voivodship authorities led to renewing transit service on Monday evening.

Opinions

Prof Tadeusz Lepkowski, historian:

"It is worth paying attention to the fact that blank spots do not occur just in Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations. There are a number of blank spots in recent Polish history. I am thinking of the many unexamined and hidden details of March 1968, for example. I will say one more thing: archives unknown to Polish historians are located not just in the USSR but also in Poland. (I am thinking of the materials in state and church archives.)

(During a discussion published by the editors of ODRA No 3, 1988)

Leonard Zukiewicz, chairman of the Krakow PZPR Control and Review Commission:

[Question] On April 1, 1988 a report that the Presidium of your commission had decided that it will no longer examine anonymous reports appeared in the press....

[Answer] We had analyzed the problem of anonymous reports for a long time. In 1986 the Krakow Control and Review Commission examined 133 cases in all and 125 letters of which 50 were anonymous. After thorough checking of the charges which includes the use of many people's time, only 13 percent of the anonymous reports were confirmed. Exactly this same rate occurred for the last three years. The majority of the anonymous reports attack management personnel and impugn honest people in coarse language.... Among the party aktiv the dominant opinion is that examining anonymous reports is embarrassing for the accused and for those examining the charges.

(Interviewed by Wojciech Taczanowski, DZIENNIK POLSKI 13 April 1988)

An anonymous manager of a construction enterprise:

"Those who lower productivity will surely avoid a tax on surplus wages. To this end we should:

- dissolve the brigade system because it stimulates an undesirable growth in productivity;

- employ as many 60-percenters as possible;
- give up the most productive employees (as the highest paid and thus subject to the tax on surplus wages to Polonia firms);
- contract these firms to perform the difficult technical work (read former employees);
- write all this up in instructions and raise prices.

"An explanation, a 60-percenter is a loafer who earns no more than 60 percent of the average wage for the past year plus recompensation whose individual productivity is as much as three-times lower than the average in the firm. I ask then: Can the current regulations on surplus wages be put in the closet with the famous 'half-year to half-year' of deputy premier Obodowski of 1982.

(From a letter to the editor of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 12)

Andrzej Stepień, director of the KiZPS Siarkopol:

[Question] As far as I know, not only the production of superphosphates but the export of sulfur to CEMA countries is unprofitable. It is said that in this situation a sharp conflict has developed between the enterprise you manage and the KiZChS Siarkopol in Grzybow as to who is to export to the East and who to the West.

[Answer] I would not call this a conflict. There are rather two different ways of thinking about how to solve the problem.... Export to the East is not totally unprofitable given our costs of production, however, it is significantly less profitable than exports to the West. This results from the current ways of accounting and the domestic exchange rates for the dollar and the transfer ruble.... In Grzybow, initially the view predominated that producers of sulfur should divide the export directions justly. We, however, think that from the economic point of view that that would not be the best solution. Grzybow should export to the USSR, and in the future Osiek, for they have wide gauge track. Obviously, they should make money. We already have such nonsense as Basznia which lies next to the Soviet border sending a part of its production to Gdansk in order keep them out of bankruptcy. The situation is not healthy when it suffices to change the railway switch in order for a potential bankrupt, threatened with liquidation, to become a highly profitable enterprise.

(Interviewed by Marek Lubas, TYGODNIK NADWISLANSKI 25 March 1988)

Entrenched Bureaucracy Not Alone To Blame for Hampering Reform Efforts

26000288a Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish
No 1, Jan 88 p 6

[Article by Maciej Letowski, doctor of law, deputy editor in chief, LAD: "What Is Holding Things Up?" The author presented his views at a meeting of the CBOS public opinion workshop in Grzegorzewice in May of 1987]

[Text] I rather frequently come across the following viewpoint in our political journalism: the society is calling for reforms, and the authorities are also expressing their desire for reform, but the chief interference in carrying out the reforms is bureaucracy, intermediate echelons of economic and managerial administration.

I consider this view to be false, to mystify our reality, because conservatism also occurs in the views and behavior of certain sections of our society and in the views and behavior of the authorities. Unless we bring this phenomenon to consciousness, unless we counteract it, we will continue to march in place and lose valuable time, thereby allowing a build-up in that social frustration which sooner or later will find an outlet in an uncontrolled social outburst.

The conservative section of society favors both egalitarian order in the economy and the past order in political life, but the reform-oriented part of society combines its support for economic reforms with a simultaneous demand for reform in the way authority is exercised.

This state of our society's opinions and viewpoints is exerting an influence on the behavior of the power elite. In the situation where we cannot find social forces to support both reform solutions (those stressing effectiveness) and the existing political order (monocentrism), the authorities face a question which is fundamental for them: To which customers should their program be addressed? Where should they look for a social basis? In other words, the authorities must choose: either reform or maintenance of the old way of exercising power, because those on whom the authorities can "count" often do not want reform, but those who might want it are often not those whom the authorities can use as a basis for support.

Support from the conservative section of society and the loyalty of the bureaucracy has cost the authorities and continues to cost them in terms of populist, egalitarian, and therefore antireform decisions. Another consequence is that the current power elite (just look at the new term of the Sejm) is dominated by representatives of the conservative element of public opinion.

Today the primary task in our country is no longer to defend the essence of authority. Priority has shifted to the issue of activating the economy, restoring its competitiveness on the international market, and mobilizing

mechanisms of effectiveness and innovation. These goals cannot be reached without getting away de facto from egalitarian economic order, without real economic reform. The verbal declaration of a "second stage" (nobody talks about how many more there will be) of the reform is not much. What are needed are concrete actions, but these must have some social and political dimension.

Advocates of the reform in the power elite are aware of the difficulties which hem them in. First, they do not represent a majority in the present power elite. Second, each step along the road of reform risks the loss of support on the part of the conservative section of society, which is unique in being supported by the current political order. Third, it is "expensive" to obtain support from the reform-minded social forces' side, because, if the economic reform is accompanied by a reform in the way power is exercised, it is possible that there will be a reform of the political mechanisms and an end to the monocentric political order.

The situation of the reformers in the power elite is therefore difficult. Each real step toward economic reform, and, above all, political reform, bears the risk of counteraction on the part of the conservatives. This is why they waver, ask for time, and beg for an understanding of their difficult situation. This is also why, if they move forward, it is only in small steps which are politically risky for them, the maximum of what they can safely afford. Several such steps have been made in the economic area. Several such steps have also been taken in the political sphere, for example, the freeing of political prisoners and the creation of the Consultative Council. All these small steps represent, as we said, the maximum that is possible given the balance of power in the power elite, but they have not changed the balance of social forces, and they have not produced support on the part of the reform social forces. Thus the doubts among the reformers in the power elite and the doubts in the maturity of our society, which does not take into account the realities and therefore proves immature to treat it as a partner. It is not only the society which bears the scars of the experience of August but also the power elite, which few people remember.

Sociological research tells us that 65 percent of the citizenry feels that there must be competition among the various political parties in the elections, and 59.4 percent think that in the Sejm there must be legal opposition critical of the government. This confirms an old truth that unsatisfied expectations become stronger as time goes by. And there is no getting around this. If they are not taken into account, there is the risk of making "courageous" decisions, which does not solve anything.

The drama of the current situation consists of the fact that there is too great a gap between what the people in power bent on reform can do and what the society expects.

The diagnosis of the current situation is therefore rather pessimistic: At the beginning of the 1980's, a conservative power elite was formed, supported by the conservative faction of society and the bureaucracy, which is conservative by the nature of things. In this situation attempts made by the small number of reformers in the power elite are a far cry from the expectations and aspirations of a substantial section of society, which is not so small numerically (15-25 percent of all adult citizens) and not so small qualitatively (these are in the main young people, college graduates, technicians, skilled workers, inhabitants of the big cities, highly industrialized).

If nothing changes in the near future, we are inevitably going to take small steps toward a large crisis.

Writing this, I am aware that I run the risk of being accused of catastrophism or perhaps political extremism.

Having said this, I should say one thing further: There is still time. There is still a little time to avoid dangerous social conflict. But in order for this to happen we need large-scale politics, courageous politics, politics which rebuild the economic and political system not to question it but to strengthen it.

The closest opportunity will be the elections to the peoples councils and the Sejm in 1988 and 1989. The time is short. Therefore the issue should be addressed this very day. These elections can be an opportunity to break up the monopoly of the conservative power elite which came into being in the situation where the political system was at risk at the beginning of the 1980's, but it does not fit the needs of the present day. This monopoly can be broken by a new political structure's appearing in our public life, one located at the center and therefore independent of the ruling camp (forming a block in PRON) and of the political opposition.

Sociological research tells us that there is a potential social base for such a political structure, because it shows that in 1985, 28 percent of the people in our country stated they were advocates of the present political order, nearly 16 percent said they were against it, and 23 percent came out in favor of a centrist position (the remaining 32 percent were what is called the silent minority).

The authorities already have some experience cooperating with representatives of centrist positions. From 1957 to 1985 they were in the Sejm. Now they are on the Consultative Council. They have shown their political maturity and, importantly, their political transparency. Everyone is well aware of what they do and do not do.

What are the advantages of bringing a centrist structure into political life? First of all the basis of social support on behalf of the reform would be broadened. As I said, this is a base which is suffering from a shortage of people set on the reform in the power elite. Second, if this

operation is successful, the social base of the representative bodies would come close to half the electorate for the first time since the war, and therefore for the first time there would be conditions making it possible to strive for democratic registration procedures. In this way we would overcome the squaring of the circle, which up until now has prevented any real change in electoral law, because no reasonable person can expect the ruling powers, aware of their relative weakness, to commit political suicide. The plebiscite electoral system, familiar to us since 1952, must remain in force, as long as there is the necessary coalition for a victory in the elections, a coalition of supporters (28 percent of the advocates of the present order), consent (23 percent of centrist opinion), and passivity (32 percent).

If the actions mentioned above were conducted with consistency and circumspection, a new balance of political power would be created in Poland, one in which two great political groups appealing to two great sections of our society would to a certain extent compete with one another and to a certain extent cooperation with one another.

In closing, let us say that the construction of a center group in our political system would undoubtedly reform that system but would not destroy it, because reasonable reform is a condition to bolstering the system. The expansion of the society's participation in the exercise of power must mean letting in new partners. It is true that the monopoly must be given up but not power. During the past century the bourgeois elite had this wisdom, sharing power with new partners. In this way, alongside the liberal groups, the Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Socialist, and even Communist groups were assured influence on the authorities. Will our political elite show similar wisdom and courage?

From the author: The resolutions of the Sixth Party Plenum allow greater hope in looking at the political reforms in our country.

10790

Ideology Conference on Socioeconomic Reforms, Implications

26000345e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "New Features of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] An ideological policy conference concerning new features of socialist democracy was held in Poznan, at the instigation of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department and the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan, in cooperation with the Institute of Political Science of Adam Mickiewicz University. Andrzej Czyz, head of the Ideological Department, attended,

along with well-known political scientists, experts, Sejm deputies, and party and social activists. Prof Dr Hab Adam Lopatka gave the opening address leading to discussion.

The conference was one of the important elements of the ongoing discussion of problems concerning the effectiveness of exercising power under the conditions of profound socioeconomic reforms. The discussion included the subject of social effectiveness of democratization processes in both the economic and sociopolitical sphere. It was emphasized that one of the major goals of the second stage of the economic reform is to achieve changes in social relationships in the economy. It was pointed out that decisions expressing the diversity of implementing solutions already adopted and prepared are aimed at making the enterprises, people's councils, and the local public more independent. In this way, a lasting means for broadening social democracy is created.

There was also a discussion of the need to put legal matters in order. For example, the need to draft a new constitution was elaborated. It was pointed out that in the constitution and other legal and political documents, the principles of consolidated authority need further clarification and perhaps even a new interpretation. Justification of the virtues of tripartite government (legislative, executive, and judicial), even under a socialist social system, was put forth. This view was also criticized.

The discussion also included the influence political and economic reforms had on enriching the content and forms of party life, political parties, and other signatories to the PRON declaration.

Among the postulates concerning the new constitution brought up during the discussion, those concerning the broadening of civil rights were noteworthy. It was pointed out that the new basic law should reflect more fully the contribution of religious policy and Polish realities in this area.

10790

Cooperation with Soviets Discussed During PZPR Delegation Visit

26000333k Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Apr 88 p 6

[Article: "Delegation from PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department Visits USSR"]

[Text] (Moscow) (PAP) At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, a delegation from the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department, with its head, Andrzej Czyz, visited the USSR on 4-9 April.

The delegation met with Yurii Skliarovii, head of the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Problems related to implementing the declaration on Polish-Soviet cooperation in the realm of ideology, science and culture were discussed, and experiences were exchanged. In addition, the delegation learned about the work of the CPSU all-union party training center and visited the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The delegation visited the Estonian SSR, where it learned about experiences in ideological work. The delegation was received by First Secretary Karol Vaino of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP.

10790

Soviet Rodina Organization Visits, Aims To Promote More Contacts

26000331a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Rodina Delegation in Poland: Mikolai Pankov's Statement to ZYCIE WARSZAWY"]

[Text] (From our own sources) "My greatest impressions come from meeting with people, from the many official and ordinary talks with people on the street, frank and open talks," Mikolai Pankov said in his statement to ZYCIE WARSZAWY. He is the first vice chairman of Rodina, a Soviet association for cultural contacts with foreign emigres. The Rodina delegation has been in Poland since Monday at the invitation of the Polonia Society.

"We have spoken many times about the so-called gaps in the history of the relations between our countries," M. Pankov said. "As everyone knows, a joint historical commission is working on this. In the very near future our central press will publish a report of the commission's work. The gaps must be filled in, not only to explain the past, but also to bolster our friendship." During the press conference held on Thursday, 14 April at the headquarters of the Polonia Society, Mikolai Pankov presented the activity of the Rodina association, which was founded in December 1975. He said that the restructuring going on in the Soviet Union had strengthened emigres' patriotic feelings and that now even those organizations which had previously been decisively negative in their stance towards the USSR were submitting proposals for contacts. M. Pankov emphasized that Soviet policy towards emigres is presently based on this principle: "If they do not agree with our ideological position but do not wage any activity against the USSR, we consider them to be relatives and are ready to cooperate with them."

Rodina found the experience of Polonia very interesting. M. Pankov emphasized especially cooperation with enterprises of Polish origin and the new stage in contacts with Polonia in socialist countries, especially the USSR, where there are about 1.2 million persons of Polish descent.

10790

Lithuanian CP Delegation Visits

26000345c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Lithuanian Party Delegation at PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] (PAP) At the invitation of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Suwalki, a party delegation arrived in Poland from Lithuania, accompanied by Stanislaus Gedrajty, secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, on 28 April, and was greeted by Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo alternate and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Views were exchanged concerning rural party work, and the results of the cooperation developing between Polish and Lithuanian agricultural units were assessed. Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the Central Committee's Agricultural Department, and Waldemar Berdya, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee in Suwalki, were present.

10790

More Individual Trips to USSR Approved, Specified

26000331e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Private Travel to the USSR"]

[Text] In response to the many questions being asked by people interested in travelling to the USSR, after conferring with Soviet officials Janusz Skolimowski, deputy director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Consular Department, has told the PAP that private trips may be made to the Soviet Union on the basis of invitations from Soviet citizens or vouchers to cover the cost of hotels and other services, which can be purchased at Polish travel agencies.

A valid passport is sufficient for crossing the border between Poland and the Soviet Union.

10790

Soviet Reader Requests More Possibilities To Travel to Poland

26000345i Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 Apr 88 p 4

[Letter by A. Pinkiel, of the USSR: "I Long for My Other Country"]

[Text] I live in the Soviet Union, 170 kilometers from Moscow. I subscribe to TRYBUNA LUDU and receive it 3 days after it is published. I like reading the paper. It keeps me from forgetting my Polish and is a source of information on Poland. I have been amazed at the courage and public-spirited party stance of the PZPR newspaper's employees during the difficult times of Solidarity's antiparty and antigovernment activity.

As it turned out, a Pole of Jewish descent, I was born in 1921 in Warsaw on Grzybowska Street. After the Germans entered Warsaw I decided to cross the Bug River, and I managed to do so. I later learned that my parents, my brother, and all my other relatives perished. In the USSR I met good people full of sympathy who helped me receive a college education and begin working.

I have been in Poland as a tourist several times. It was not always easy, but I was never refused.

As time has gone by I have longed more and more for Poland. I lived there 17 years and in the USSR 49 years. Now it is as though I had two countries, Poland and Russia. I live in and love one and long for the other.

In No 43 of TRYBUNA LUDU I read an interview with Jan Glowczyk, in which the subject of the bond Soviet citizens of Polish descent have with Poland. Because so much has changed now in our country, I would like it to be possible for us old folks born in Poland to be able to travel to Poland each year for from 2 to 5 days and for us to have some place to sleep. Of course, we would pay for it. I would like for it to be possible to maintain ties to Poland through the Polish Information and Culture Center in Moscow.

10790

Volyn Oblast Visits, Warsaw Trip Planned

26000331c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by W.G.: "Lutsk-Chelm Culture and Friendship Group"]

[Text] (Chelm) The residents of Chelm Voivodship and Volyn Oblast are proud of these contacts. The contacts are also praised by workers of the plants, cooperatives, and farms working in cooperation with one another.

The artistic groups from Volyn present concerts on stages in Chelm Voivodship, and Chelm groups present their programs to audiences in Lutsk and other towns of

the oblast. Joint concerts, sporting events, and recreation for youth have become a tradition. Rather often somehow formal meetings have been replaced by open friendships and fruitful exchanges of experience, for example, on the subject of production methods or ways of managing work.

Because despite appearances, the exchange along the border is more than merely a regional matter of neighboring oblasts, republics, or voivodships, there was the idea of presenting the effects of the relationship in Warsaw too. "Lutsk-Chelm, Culture and Friendship Group" is the title of the series of presentations showing the economic and cultural contribution of Volyn Oblast and the results of this oblast's cooperation with Chelm Voivodship.

The Volyn Oblast delegation will come to Chelm on 13 April. The next day, officials representing Volyn Oblast and Chelm Voivodship will go to Warsaw. On 15 April there will be a seminar entitled "The Contribution and Prospects for Cooperation Between Volyn Oblast and Chelm Voivodship" at the Soviet Science and Culture House.

Lutsk and Chelm graphic artists, photographers, and artistic groups will travel to Warsaw. The artistic groups will perform in concert at the Warsaw Cultural Center, "Cora" Plant House of Culture, and Electric Schools Group. "Volynianka" and the Chelm Regional Song and Dance Company, among others, will perform for the Warsaw public.

There will be open exhibits portraying the cooperative contribution. "I Paint My Dreams" is the title of a poster display by children from Volyn and Chelm Voivodship. It will be on exhibition at the Warsaw Cultural Center, where there will also be a display of artistic photographs by photographers from the sister oblast and voivodship.

On 15 April an exhibit entitled "Brotherhood and Cooperation of Volyn and Chelm Voivodship" will open at the Soviet Science and Culture House, where the painting of Volyn and Chelm artists will also be on display, along with a photographic exhibit entitled "Memory."

The presentation of the results of cooperation and exchange along the border is something new among the joint undertakings. It will surely not be the last, because these contacts are very much alive, and the cooperation is becoming more and more concrete and mutually beneficial.

10790

National Grunwald Committee Presidium Convenes

26000333d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Presidium of All-Poland Grunwald Committee Held"]

[Text] The Presidium of the All-Poland Grunwald Committee was convened under the gavel of Kazimierz Barcikowski, on 11 April. Information was presented

concerning the outcome of the successive phase of work on the concept of a museum information center, which is to be set up in Stebarek. These findings were included in information on work to implement the draft created by the Warsaw group "Pro Arte" Cooperative of Architects and Artists' Creative Work. The building, to be made up of existing village architecture, will include a cinema with seating for 150 persons, five exhibition halls, tourist information support, a bookshop, and museum work areas. A pedestrian mall of several hundred meters will be connected to the monument complex. The presidium also considered the program of the 3-week Grunwald tradition, which will be held in July, and it learned about the assumptions of the Grunwald interdisciplinary program of basic research.

10790

Sejm Commission Favors More Opportune Use of Surveys, Advisory Groups

26000333b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
14 Apr 88 p 4

[Article: "More Rapid Data Flow Needed"]

[Text] (PAP) The Regulations and Deputy Affairs Commission has called for the Sejm to make better use of the results of the work of expert and advisory groups. Emphasizing the significance of the activity of the Socio-economic Council and the Sejm Advisors' Group, the commission expressed the view that the practice of using their comments and conclusions and the flow of related information among the deputies still leave a great deal to be desired.

Summing up the deputies' discussion on these subjects in the opinion issued on 13 April, the commission pointed out the difficulties the two advisory groups face owing to delays in the obtaining access to many government documents. The resulting deadline pressures also have an adverse influence on the extent to which the Sejm bodies utilize their suggestions. In the commission's view, it should be a fixed principle that when deputies are making reports on various drafts at parliamentary sessions, they will take into account the materials prepared by the advisory bodies.

It was suggested that consideration be given to the possibility of updating the budget law provision concerning the deadline for the government to present annual financial plan drafts. In the commission's view, this could occur not in mid-November, but, for example, back in September. The intention of this suggestion is to try to lessen the time pressure in difficult work on the state budget.

10790

ZSL, TPPR Activists Meet

26000346b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Journalists of TRYBUNA LUDU and the PAP Noted Today: National Meeting of ZSL and TPPR Activists"]

[Text] On the eve of the 43rd anniversary of the signing of the pact on friendship and cooperation between Poland and the USSR, a national meeting of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship (TPPR) activists was held in Warsaw. The forms and methods of the work of activists in further strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship were discussed. The meeting was attended by activists of the TPPR and former members of the Union of Polish Patriots, among others. It was chaired by Roman Malinowski, president of the United Peasant Party Chief Committee and chairman of the TPPR national council. Also in attendance were Kazimierz Fortuna, secretary of the United Peasant Party Chief Committee; Vladyslaw Sorokin, the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw; and Stefan Nawrot, secretary general of TPPR.

During the meeting, the group of TPPR activists was presented with medals for strengthening friendship between the Polish and Soviet nations and gold TPPR badges of honor. Roman Malinowski and Henryk Bednarski, chairman of the main board of TPPR, presented the awards.

10790

PZPR, Cambodian CP Dailies Sign Cooperative Agreement

26000333j Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Apr 88 p 6

[Article: "Cooperation Between Editors of TRYBUNA LUDU and PRACHEACHUN"]

[Text] On 8 April, at the end of a visit to the People's Republic of Cambodia, a TRYBUNA LUDU delegation headed by editor-in-chief Jerzy Majek, was received by Mean Sam On, member of the Politburo of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia.

Mean Sam On told about the situation in her country, and about the internal activity of the Cambodian party and government, as well as about the efforts being made to find a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

During the visit, an agreement between the editors of TRYBUNA LUDU and PRACHEACHUN, the publication of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia, was signed. The agreement calls for various forms of exchange and enrichment of information about life in our countries for the societies of Poland and Cambodia.

The visit served as an opportunity for propaganda activists of the Central Committee propaganda activists and Phnom Penh journalists to learn about the situation in Poland and the activity of the PZPR.

10790

Krosno PZPR Plenum Notes Bureaucratic 'Paper Jungle'

26000329a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 10

[Article by Ryszard Zatorski: "How To Function Effectively: Joint Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and Voivodship Control and Review Commission in Krosno"]

[Text] A joint meeting of the Krosno PZPR Voivodship Committee and Voivodship Control and Review Commission was completely devoted to discussion, for the report of the Executive was given to the participants earlier. Evaluating the effectiveness of the work of the voivodship organization and its basic units in light of the resolutions of the fourth plenum of the central committee, the discussion attempted to determine how well the party organizations and offices are performing their function of political direction in plants, in towns, and in gminas.

"Too frequently, we meet, however, with cases in which only the secretary of the basic party organization is active," said Eugeniusz Rysz, first secretary of the Astosian Factory Committee and member of the central committee. "An ordinary rank-and-file worker dependent in his work on supervisors who are members of his organization. Can he, for example, conduct an effective warning conversation with such members?"

"Party goals have not changed, only the methods for reaching them," said E. Rysz. "That action of the party through its members within the self-managements and unions is frequently ineffective is cause for concern."

Many comments emphasized the close connection between economic issues and the effect of action by the party.

"Economic results weigh heavily on the attitude toward party organizations and the increase in their membership," said Stanislaw Urban, first secretary of the Jaslo City Committee.

He also drew attention to the danger of command control of party organizations, the rising wave of reporting requirements, the paper jungle in which basic goals are lost. Thus meetings instead of being an exchange of views, a collision of different positions become uninteresting.

During the discussion it was emphasized that only 8.8 percent of the membership of the voivodship organization are young people; thus, it is encouraging that among the new members the majority are from that generation.

The resolution adopted defined the tasks for the basic units in strengthening internal party-organization links and on affecting the environment to implement effectively the economic reform.

Jozef Tofilski, first secretary of the Krosno PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting.

13021

Ostroleka PZPR Plenum on People's Councils Elections

26000329b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Witold Sawicki: "As the Members Are, So Is the Council: Plenum of the Ostroleka PZPR Voivodship Committee"]

[Text] On 14 April 1988 at the plenum of the Ostroleka PZPR Voivodship Committee it was said that elections to the peoples' councils are an opportunity for the broadest possible discussion with the citizenry on the issues closest to them, their living and working conditions.

In discussing the operations of the councils during the past term in office and the party's participation in PRON's preparations for the elections in June, both the Voivodship Committee Executive's report and the discussion pointed to the need to nominate party members as candidates for council seats who will make the future councils fully responsible and see to it that they exercise the economic authority in their geographical areas.

Speakers emphasized that in spite of many achievements, our councils have been too passive, aiming to solve simple immediate problems and not at long-term development plans. During the pre-election campaign, we must not only listen to opinions but also educate society and shape views and attitudes.

In the opinion of Krzysztof Arbaszewski from Somiano, it is important to select candidates for the councils who are not just critical of the persisting issues but who propose creative solutions for problems. Who are not only ready to propose but also ready to take responsibility for implementation.

The Voivodship Committee recognized those councils and members who fulfilled their obligations with a sense of responsibility and honor for their mandate of social trust. It emphasized that the campaign begun is the next stage in the further democratization of sociopolitical life.

Jerzy Glowacki, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, presided over the meeting. A number of council members and party members from the cities and gminas of the Ostroleka region were invited to the plenum.

13021

Open PZPR Meeting at Party Academy

26000345a Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Meeting at PZPR Academy of Social Sciences"]

[Text] An open party meeting was held at the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, attended and presented information concerning the country's political and socioeconomic situation.

10790

Education Minister at PZPR Academy Meeting

26000345b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Activity of Academy of Social Sciences"]

[Text] A meeting of the Program Council of the Academy of Social Sciences (ANS) was held on 28 April under the gavel of Minister of National Education Henryk Bednarski. The council learned about ANS activities, especially scientific research and foreign cooperation. The by-laws of the ANS were ratified.

10790

PRON's Civic Education Commission Meets

26000329d Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
12 Apr 88 p 5

[PAP report: "How To Shape Patriotic Attitudes: Discussion in the PRON National Council Commission"]

[Text] What is the essence of contemporary patriotism? Is it attachment to one's country or rather only to one's region? What shapes it? And what is the role of institutions promoting culture in this area? How should patriotic attitudes among young people and in groups of adults be shaped? What are the barriers today to patriotic behavior? These questions and problems were the subject of the discussion on 11 April 1988 of the Presidium of the Commission for Culture of the PRON National Council in which representatives of the Commission for Civic Education of the PRON National Council participated.

In the comments of the discussants on these issues, the conviction dominated that civic attitudes can be measured by an involved relationship to one's occupation

and family obligations, the style of one's interpersonal relations, and the desired motivation for civic actions aimed at a decent life and improving one's living standards.

Culture becomes an important resource for civic education. Thus, the PRON activists since the very beginning of the movement have taken the position that it is necessary jointly to comprehend economics and culture. This approach places a particular obligation to thoroughly and ably use culture as a stimulant for the economic development of Poland on the creators of the economic reform.

13021

Orthodox Metropolitan Visits Glemp, Others
26000345d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Metropolitan Pitirim's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] Pitirim, Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Iurev, visited Poland at the invitation of the chairman of the Christian Social Association. Metropolitan Pitirim directs the Moscow Patriarchate's press and publishing affairs and heads the press center for the commemoration of the millenium of Russian Christianity. On 28 April he met with Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, at the Warsaw archbishops' residence. During talks on that same day, the metropolitan and Kazimierz Morawski, president of the Christian Social Association, discussed issues concerning publication cooperation between the association and the Moscow patriarchate. As a result a joint publication devoted to the Marianite rite in Poland and the Soviet Union is to be published this year.

10790

Journalists Focus on 'Weaknesses' of Mass Media at Plenum
26000333c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Plenum of Main Board of Association of Journalists of Poland: Appeal to Journalists Concerning People's Council Elections"]

[Text] The Main Board of the Association of Polish Journalists of Poland, or ZG SD PRL, was convened in Warsaw on 12 April, to discuss problems related to the current situation in the journalistic community.

In the introductory address and discussion there were many elements related not only to the worsening working conditions of journalists and their socioeconomic situation but also to general weaknesses in the mass media system in Poland. Above all, the rise in newspaper and magazine prices caused by the growing costs of producing them, especially paper, was pointed out. there

was talk about the rising prices [user fees] on radios and television sets, while at the same time there is a tremendous use of the whole network of technical resources in the press, radio, and television. Along with these phenomena, unfortunately, instances are being noted more and more frequently where the level of journalistic work has declined, there is a desire to attract the reader without any effort, and important issues that are socially necessary but inconvenient for one reason or another are avoided. This is related to the increasing phenomenon of limiting public access to information and hence to limiting the basic functions of journalism. On the other hand, as the position adopted at the plenum concerning public access to information stated, its duty is decisive support in social life whatever is socialist, progressive, and, as this implies, critical concerning whatever is holding back the process of reforms and development of our country.

The plenum of the SD Main Board also appealed to journalists in connection with elections to the people's councils, asking all journalists to take an active part in the elections campaign and to support those program directions and candidates who will insure that the program of renewal and reform is carried out.

Slawomir Tabkowski, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Propaganda Department, took part in the deliberations.

10790

Attorney General's Public, Military Units Meet in Conference
26000333g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Assessment of Operations and Tasks of Attorney General's Office"]

[Text] A theoretical and ideological conference of administrative staff of the Polish attorney general's public and military organizational units ended Saturday in Serock, near Warsaw. The conference was held to assess the attorney general's operations during 1987 and to discuss basic tasks for 1988.

Polish Attorney General Jozef Zyt emphasized that 1987 showed a further increase in the attorney generals' activity against violations of the law in the country and on behalf of insuring the protection of civil rights. The year 1988 should see the expansion of the general attorney's efforts in monitoring the respect for law, civil rights, and preventive measures.

In the course of conferences with state's attorneys, there were meetings with Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and deputy chair of the Council of State; Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary general of the PRON national council; Planning Commission Chair Zdzislaw

Sadowski; Adam Lopatka, first chair of the Supreme Court, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Brig Gen Henryk Dankowski. They discussed the country's current political and economic problems, along with the directions for carrying out the economic reform, and in this connection they voiced the expectations concerning the preservation of law and order.

10790

Letter Challenges View of Post-WWII German Expulsions

26000345h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 Apr 88 p 4

[Letter by Zygmunt Zacholski, of Wejherowo: "Contrary to the Facts"]

[Text] I am outraged over the biased account in Ryszard Janusz Baj's article "Kashub View of the World," published in No 12 of the weekly magazine LAD. [As Zagloba put it in Sienkiewicz's "Potop," warning against deception], "the devil has put on a chasuble and is using his tail to ring the Sanctus bell."

I was employed at forced labor after having been deported at age 13 from Gostyn in Wielkopolska and taken to the region of Puck and Leborek (Oranienburg) near what was then the border between Poland and Germany. I lived through the liberation in that region (10 March 1945) and witnessed the events discussed in the above-mentioned article. I have the impression that it could have been written at the request of the Nazi Dregger or Zimmerman.

The departure of the German population from these lands was handled in a humanitarian manner. The people were informed about the departure. At any moment they were able to bow out from leaving. This is shown by the departures of Germans in 1956-1958, 1968-1870, and up to the present. The Germans who assumed Polish citizenship retained their property or the equivalent. On the other hand, I, a young boy of 14, was thrown out into the night. We had to leave the place where we were living within 15 minutes. We were held in camps on hunger rations (Poznan, Pila). There is a very great number of documents on this subject.

The population that came in there from regions all over Poland and from foreign countries were very simple people. After all, they were not familiar with history. They had not even heard that the Kashub ethnic group existed before the war. Was this their fault? The injustices against the Kashubs usually had other causes. Every nation has individuals with dishonest inclinations. The instances of injustice were severely prosecuted before the law. I was a witness.

As for the Slovenians and the Kluk region, it is too bad that the author did not look at the rich documentation in Slupsk. The injustices they suffered were corrected to the extent possible, and local authorities were punished. Later departures are a completely different problem.

Ryszard Janusz Baj's article is extremely harmful to Polish interests and does an injustice to those first pioneering settlers who came to the Western Territories and gave them back to the fatherland.

10790

Defense Committee Meetings Reported

26000346c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Voivodship Defense Committees Hold Meetings"]

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committees held meetings.

In Lomza positive changes were noted in rural areas. The bolstering of the farms and the increase in acreage under cultivation were cited as examples. Włodzimierz Mokrzyński was present.

A WKO meeting in Torun was devoted to the problems of patriotic defense training of youth.

In Skierniewice, activity related to protection of public property was assessed in selected industrial plants in the region.

10790

Structural Changes Necessitate New Social Services, Wage Policies

26000332 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
6 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ireneusz Sekula, Minister of Labor and Social Policy, by Jerzy Sieradzinski and Wanda Zagawa: "Many Important Questions Need Answering"]

[Text] Today we are familiar with the shape of the systematic solutions which are soon to set our economy on the path to effective development. They will facilitate structural changes and internal equilibrium, but solutions of this sort are bound to have broad social implications. This fact makes it necessary to draft new principles of state social and societal policy, as well as ways to implement that policy. We are talking to Minister Ireneusz Sekula about this.

[Question] To what extent is this a task for the ministry which you have recently begun to head?

[Answer] We are going to have to seek answers to many difficult, complicated questions, answers reflecting a choice of goals to which forms, methods, ways, and techniques of attainment are adapted. What sort of level of vocational activity do we want the society to reach? After all, whether we want to continue employment despite the fact that retirement criteria are met or to turn the workplace over to younger successors depends on this. Do we want the vocational activity of women to decrease or increase?

The answer to this question determines the extent to which we must expand the nurseries and preschools, or else develop child-rearing benefits and other benefits for parents caring for small children. What sort of birth policy do we want to conduct? Do we want families with many children to predominate or, under our conditions, should we be interested instead in a smaller number of children, and therefore prefer this model in our social system?

An unequivocal answer to these and other questions will create the strategic long-term basis for social policy which must be developed with the active participation of our ministry. Participation means presenting different variants of a concept, forecasts, simulation theory, and models of action, gathering arguments, creating hypotheses, initiating drafts, because the material of the problems is fundamental in nature. After broad consultation with society these problems can be resolved at the top managerial levels of government. On the other hand, it is our task to participate actively in the structuring and consistent implementation of the directional decisions made by the Sejm and the government, not to set the principles of social policy but to carry out that policy effectively and efficiently.

Between the Staff and the Administration

[Question] The acceleration of the above-mentioned projects and tasks related to the ministry's new role require that the conceptualization of its operations, both long-range and short-range, be specified in detail.

[Answer] We must place the conception of the ministry's actions somewhere between the two extremes. The ministry of labor and social policy can have the nature of a complicated staff of prominent experts and specialists in various areas who prepare a proposal, analyses, and forecasts concerning various aspects of labor and social policy and present them to the government but have no real authority and therefore do not have any operational responsibility either.

With the opposite extreme, the ministry has the nature of a government agency entrusted with coordination, supervision, and oversight of a specific section of the country's socioeconomic life. Therefore it is to see that what are today popularly called "rules of play" are adhered to, that is the regulations which represent the force of the law (because it is only with such a law that

independent enterprises can be obliged to certain actions or prohibited from certain actions). In this case, the ministry would have to be given precisely defined operational jurisdiction and means, mainly in a suitable control apparatus with appropriate regulations, in order to see effectively that those rules of play are followed. Then indeed we could and should bear the responsibility for the realm of action entrusted to us, for the results of using the material means and jurisdiction given to us.

[Question] Both possible "extreme solutions" have their virtues, but their defects are also visible to the naked eye. Therefore, would it not be wiser to find the golden mean?

[Answer] Our efforts are in this very direction. We want to propose decided limits on the who realms of interest to the ministry. The first would sanction freedom of action for independent subjects of the economy. The director and worker self-management, after all, must be certain that in making independent decisions, based on the rights given them, they themselves will bear the consequences. Such decisions usually have results over many years. We must provide the opportunity for some monitoring in 2 or 5 years. We should not interfere in this area, and we do not want to. Our task here would consist mainly of formulating the principles of transparent rules of play, within the framework of which the enterprise could and should operate independently. The regulators of this area should be a special kind of homeostatic element, stable economic mechanisms indirectly guided by credit policy, foreign exchange regulations, customs rules, tax policy, and so on.

There is also a second area, one in which we must assume the role of controller and guardian to insure adherence to the rules and principles serving to regulate the realm of labor, management, occupational health and safety, and social benefits implemented by the work establishments and other specialized institutions.

The boundary between these two areas must be clearly defined and not create any doubt or controversy, owing to the fact that the solution of several very important problems must be negotiated. I am thinking about the new structure of the labor code, about the system of social benefits, about the principles of managing labor resources and the operation of incentive-based wage systems, and about the conditions and organization of work. After all, they will be special sorts of social contracts whose signing and concrete implementation will produce results reaching into the 21st century. The ministry's model will be a function of them.

100 Days for Conceptualization

[Question] Are we to understand that the conceptualization of the ministry's operation will not be defined until these social agreements are entered into?

[Answer] Time presses on. Fortunately we are not starting from zero. Much of the work is in the advanced stages. If we want to create the conditions for genuine, broad consultation with the public concerning our working proposals, their concepts must come into being this very spring, within the next 100 days. They may prove to be far from perfect, but they must be brought out into the open.

There are certain limits to the citizenry's psychological resistance, and patience. It has been 2 years since the Tenth Party Congress. That is enough internal discussion, calculations, and corrections on the working draft. Now it is time to produce the result of this work and allow public comment, particularly since delayed action could make it impossible to take a fresh look and cause a fall into routine.

This probably calls for not only merely describing the concept of the work of the ministry itself but also for describing its role in a multilateral structure (directors, founding body, trade unions), in which the effectiveness of the assumptions of social policy are resolved. Disputes and conflicts occur there too.

[Question] What sort of role should your ministry's expert play in discussions and disputes of this sort?

[Answer] The role of adviser to both sides. As a competent person who knows how similar problems are approached in other plants, branches, and even other countries, the ministry expert should suggest the most effective solutions that can be used and accepted by both parties. This also applies to drafting new solutions. I am convinced that if the trade unions participate from the very beginning in the work of the drafting of the many new systems solutions that execute social policy (and this concerns me a great deal), then our cooperation will be successful and produce greater benefit to society.

The Fetish of the Mean Wage

[Question] What is the greatest barrier today to strengthening the direct relationship between work and pay?

[Answer] In the minds of people in many parts of our society, the notion of the mean wage has actually become a fetish. As a result, something which should be merely a statistical indicator, an element helping in research on the phenomena and trends in wage policy, it has often become the basis for pretensions. This leads to fundamental misunderstandings. Just about everyone not making the mean wage is demanding it, but, after all, every time the wages of a given group are brought closer to the mean, this mean becomes higher. The race toward a disappearing horizon, which can be achieved only in the event that everyone reaches the average, means that everyone's earnings will be identical.

Meanwhile, it is only by making wages different that we can create the conditions for rewarding worker initiative and ingenuity. The best, most capable, most creative, and most productive should be the winners, and the lazy, the unreliable, and those with poor vocational qualifications should be the losers.

Of course, the polarization of wages also means a difference in the level of consumption. This is a sound fear. It is normal and provides an incentive, but it cannot be overlooked in social policy. We will follow it carefully.

After all, there are cases where the person (or his family), for reasons of fate and not his own doing, finds himself in a particularly difficult material situation. It is the duty of the socialist state and proof of the effectiveness of the social welfare system operating within it that assistance will be given to such a person effectively and in a timely manner, but the substantial funds which the state designates for this purpose do not always reach those most in need of them. Some people who are more farsighted have found their way to several sources. Others have gone unnoticed. Therefore we must correct not only the principle of social assistance but also a way to make it work better.

[Question] Is there not the danger that in the assumptions of social policy, the maximum level of collective consumption which can be justified in a socialist policy will be exceeded in favor of private consumption?

[Answer] Where is this limit? This reminds us of the question of how many hairs a man can lose before he becomes bald. Of course, we must maintain a socially justified level of collective consumption, but this will not be furthered either by a system of overgrown subsidies or universal access to many (even formally) free services. I am of the opinion that in our socialist state there can be no economic restrictions in child-rearing or in access to life-saving or health-restoring medicine. On the other hand, I have grave doubts as to whether we must continue to subsidize medicines, for example, that improve the way one feels. Must every visit to a regional physician or unjustified call to emergency, and so on, be free. I think that every few years, for example, in the form of a social agreement, in the course of discussing the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan, we should try to negotiate this limit on collective consumption, the goods and services available to all, free or inexpensive, a limit above which the citizen begins to participate to an increasing extent in obtaining goods or availing himself of services which fall more and more in the luxury class. This limit should be variable and be determined, for example, by the state's economic possibilities.

Mastering Spontaneous Dynamics

[Question] Up until now we have overlooked the issue of the labor market.

[Answer] In the current meaning of the concept, there actually is no such thing as a labor market in our country. The national balance of jobs open and people seeking work has not operative meaning. In reality, the labor market in our country is regional in nature. It is based on transportation links making it possible for employees to commute each day. Only in a regional sense can we try to balance the supply with the demand.

The narrow professional nature of regional labor markets is another limitation. It is risky to balance available jobs with the number of people looking for work. This is like adding sleeves to neckties. In one place there is a shortage of pediatricians and surgeons, and in another, drivers and turners. What is more, this market is governed by two elements: working conditions and wages. The former cannot be quickly changed. On the other hand, it is possible to offer higher wages. The regional nature of labor markets today force up the price of labor in a rigid and decisive way. It is simply that if you want to fill a vacancy, you have to pay more. This phenomenon, which after all does not occur only in Poland, runs counter to the effort to evaluate jobs, to structure wages in keeping with qualifications, the complexity of the job, and the results achieved from that job.

We have to try to bring these two trends into some sort of harmony, to slowly transform the spontaneous dynamics into a rational model that is being guided to an ever greater extent. This is a tremendously difficult task, but we cannot avoid undertaking it.

[Question] In preparing the ministry's program concept, you must surely be looking for allies ready to commit themselves to carrying it out. On whom are you counting?

[Answer] I think our allies will be the directors of enterprises, because they are interested after all in having stable rules of play, and also the worker self-management groups, whom we want to see as responsible partners in carrying out our long-term economic concepts.

I am counting on young people, on those who are rising above the average, because we want to create for them broader possibilities for action and appropriate rewards for the effects of their work and initiative. I also think that we will find allies among the citizens who avail themselves of the various forms of social benefits, because it is not just today that they are calling for stable solutions that are resistant to inflation, rational, and properly addressed. This offer of direct worker cooperation and of active participation in making all decisions of significance to social policy that I am making to the trade unions allows me to express the hope that our common goals will make us close allies, despite our differences of approach and methods.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

10790

Wage Differentiation Manipulation Criticized
26000343b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 3

[Letter to the editor by Maciej Sabatowicz: "Recognition or Counterincentive," originally published in DZIENNIK POLSKI, 15 Apr 88]

[Text] The prereform wage systems made it financially impossible to express the full worth of many very productive employees, owing to the rigidity of the wage tables and the ceilings on them. Now this barrier has disappeared. For good work it is now permissible to pay a good deal. It is also possible to pay a lot for nothing. Many managerial cliques were delighted once they realized what the issue was. And they started paying incentive bonuses, merits, "14th pay checks," not in keeping with the work contribution but according to one's place in the hierarchy and in the system. Paradoxes came into being.

More than one director has managed to take more than all his subordinates, but nobody from below can do better than those above, even though he excelled on the job. Of course, there is no question of winning a case in court. The awards are a sort of recognition. The court does not become involved.

But what are the effects of this state of affairs? Subordinates see, comment, and lose their enthusiasm for their work. In many enterprises bonuses and awards are a counterincentive, which means that they serve a function that is the opposite of that intended.

1079

Olsztyn PZPR Plenum on Achieving Market Balance
26000333h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "PZPR Voivodship Plenum in Olsztyn"]

[Text] Market production potential is being under-utilized in many plants. This is one of the major reasons for the lack of balance between demand and the rapidly growing supply. These convictions predominated during the Voivodship PZPR Committee plenum held in Olsztyn on Saturday. The deliberations were devoted to the tasks of the voivodship party organization in structuring market balance, and the participants, who included representatives invited from the management of enterprises, worker and cooperative councils, and basic party organizations (POP), stated their support for methods of expanding market and service production.

10790

International Railway Meeting

26000346d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Commissions of International Union of Railways Meet"]

[Text] Representatives of railway administrations of several countries gathered for a meeting in Warsaw beginning 27 April and tried to get a picture of the future of rail transportation. They came here for meetings of two commissions of the International Union of Railways, its passenger and freight commissions.

10790

Belgian Public-Works TU Visits OPZZ

26000333f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Belgian Trade Unionists at OPZZ"]

[Text] OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz received Mon Rooses, vice president of the Belgian general center for public works trade unionists, on 11 April. The Belgian delegation learned about the trade unions' problems and activities in our country. There was also a discussion of prospects for cooperation between Polish and Belgian trade unions.

10790

Ukraine SSR, Chelm Cultural Contacts Expand

26000331b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Lutsk-Chelm Culture and Friendship Group"]

[Text] (From our own sources) On 14-15 April, joint "Presentations" of Volyn Oblast (Ukrainian SSR) and Chelm Voivodship are being held in Warsaw, and under these auspices the two administrative units, which have been working together since 1947, are using various ways to present residents of the capital, plant workers, school children, and officials of the capital voivodship of Warsaw with the history, results, and synthesis of this cooperation. The event will be entitled: "Lutsk-Chelm Group for Culture and Friendship Among Peoples."

The Lutsk and Chelm delegations, which include representatives of party and state officialdom, youth organizations, places of employment, artists, and folk groups, began its visit in Warsaw with a meeting with top party officials at the PZPR Central Committee. Then wreaths of flowers were placed at the monuments at Nike [symbol of Warsaw statue] and the Soviet soldiers' mausoleum. From there they went to a meeting with employees

at the Automobile Factory (FSO) and "Ursus" Mechanical Plants. On 14 April they also met with capital officials and members of the main board of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship.

Jozef Baryl, Central Committee secretary and member of the Politburo, received a delegation of the CPSU Oblast Committee in Lutsk, including First Secretary Leonid Pavlenko.

The delegation was accompanied by representatives of the political and administrative leadership of Chelm Voivodship, including Stefan Lyczak, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

10790

Poznan-Kharkov 'Partnership' Continues

26000331d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Poznan-Kharkov Mutual Interests: Sports and Tourism"]

[Text] (Poznan) Poznan, which has been working in cooperation with Kharkov for many years, is enriching its partnership with that city in ever increasing new areas of mutual interest.

A Kharkov delegation representing physical education and tourism left Poznan on 12 April, following a 6-day visit to the Wielkopolska capital.

Petr Aleksandrovich Bohula, director of the Kharkov physical education and tourism department, headed the delegation from the sister city. Also among the guests were Prof Stepan M. Fil, rector of the physical education academy in Kharkov, and Vasilii Berezhnoi, director of the school of championship sports in Kharkov. They learned about sports activity among college youth and the operation of sports and recreation club facilities. They also visited the Poznan Physical Education Academy and met with representatives from Poland's top sports school, in Poznan.

10790

Bydgoszcz Transportation Workers Describe Action, Frustrations

26000343a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Marek Badtke and Andrzej Miklaszewicz: "Bydgoszcz : Interruption in Transportation and Law and Order"]

[Text] It is true that Bydgoszcz is not a Moloch-city, but it is not easy to wander around in either. The industrial districts are even located a dozen or more kilometers from downtown, and the same is true of the newly built settlement of Fordon or the older Osowa Gora, called

Bydgoszcz's bedroom communities. Furthermore, the transportation system of the downtown area does not function well, and the streets are narrow, winding, and bumpy there. Under such conditions it becomes evident that transportation is the nervous system of the city.

In Bydgoszcz and neighboring Inowroclaw, this nervous system has been severed. Monday's protest by workers at the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise, or WPK—we published information on it on 26 April—in both these cities led to the interruption of bus and street car service lasting more than 12 hours.

In a voivodship capital of nearly 400,000 residents, this was a problem of disorder. The protest by WPK workers was preceded by an earlier warning from residents and caused thousands of people to arrive late at their jobs, schools, offices, and hospitals.

People leaving early to go to work wandered about helplessly from one urban bus or car stop to another. Taxicab drivers began to make unexpected fortunes. Plants' emergency transport systems were put in operation.

We were there and jotted down the comments, opinions, and reflections.

So why did the WPK employees decide to take such a drastic step?

Among the Rocks and Dirt

"We are really working under difficult conditions," drivers said. The street surfaces are bad, and the buses which have been in service a long time break down frequently. Besides this, the technical support is poor. The workers' poor social conditions go unnoticed. The divisions and clashes among workers in various employee groups also helped turn the atmosphere sour in the enterprise.

WPK director Tadeusz Dziecol's statement published in the Bydgoszcz afternoon paper *DZIENNIK WIECZORNY* 3 days before the Monday holiday for many Bydgoszcz residents poured gasoline on the fire. "Some were working 260 hours," the director there said. "And overtime is taken from sick leave vacation, and assignments to other jobs and activity. Some are working overtime while others are absent."

"But the biggest problem," said Harald Matuszewski, chairman of the plant union organization, is that the employees are supposedly not taking care of the vehicles and do not apply themselves to their work, because the drivers see the problem differently. After all, their earnings depend on how many runs they make, but how can you earn money that way, when there are continual breakdowns, and that means travelling off the route.

We could not exclude subjective exaggerations from these opinions, but it is a fact that the employees left the Bydgoszcz WPK. In 1986 80 drivers left, it was 94 the year before, and 44 have already quit during the first quarter of this year. Vehicle electricians on Torun Street repairing street cars work 12 hours every day, and on Sundays even 16. The number of them is decreasing too.

Source of the Conflict

Monday's conflict had been growing over several months. In February negotiations with management were waged by trade union people supported by the plant party organization.

Twice there were meetings with the workers, but instead of calming people, they provoked new misgivings. H. Matuszewski says that the director's attitude irritated the workers. Many problems were resolved too slowly.

The problems could have been resolved more quickly, and the proposals which the workers presented for granting a bonus for savings on fuel and tires and an issue over uniforms could have been handled in a more realistic way. The lack of motivation within the plant was not encouraging better fuel or power management.

The whole effort got out of control on Monday. Drivers of the first busses leaving the yards on Torun Street at 3:45 did not know about the protest yet. The electricians at the yards who had been on duty say that they became organized spontaneously. They also deny that the action was prepared ahead of time.

"We simply had enough of it all," WPK workers say. The drivers who were just coming to the depot gathered in the yard. They were joined by those who had gone out on their routes earlier. The street cars did not go into the city either. Workers from technical repairs stopped work.

At about 5:30 the supply busses brought drivers to the yards on Inowroclaw Street. Among them was Krzysztof Wojt, head of the union organization at the WPK bus transport plant. A few hours later he became the head of the negotiations team.

"I was awakened by the phone at 3:30," K. Wojt said. "Because I live close to the yards, I was there before 4. People say: We are not working. I phoned the head of the plant, but he already knew about the situation. Right after that I dialed the number of the chairman of our trade union at the company."

"The phone rang a few minutes after 4," H. Matuszewski says. "I was at the Torun Street yards when the busses came back from their routes."

The union people said it was not a strike. It could not be a strike, because the legal procedures for such an action had not been followed, but it was not possible to let the

conflict continue to develop spontaneously. The union people who on two occasions during the past few months had not let the workers strike, despite the fact that such slogans had been put forth, now decided to direct the action.

Round Three

Before 9, negotiations began at the Torun Street Yards. Representatives of the administrative officials of the city and WPK management take part in the talks. The workers are represented by ten people selected earlier at the club room in the yards where most of the enterprise workers had gathered. The yards are peaceful. There are no banners or slogans.

One incident was Jan Rulewski's illegal entrance into the yards, where the guard let him in, as the workers wished. Foreign correspondents were also invited in. A telephone call from Gdansk was ignored, when a woman's voice announced: "Lech Walesa will be here all day for the Bydgoszcz business and is waiting at this number for information."

Meanwhile worker representatives arrive from Inowroclaw, joining the action, but employees from the WPK Chojnice branch do not join.

The talks lasted a long time. In the first round, representatives of the workers presented their wage and social demands. The second round ended before noon without resolving the conflict. Finally at 17:30 participants to the talks enter the jam-packed club room and read the provisions. All in a serious atmosphere. At just before 18:00 the busses and street cars in Bydgoszcz are moving.

These talks were about money and other benefits that also cost money, after all. The WPK representatives did not ask the questions: Who will pay? Where is the cash register?

Neither From Heaven Nor in a Briefcase

But the next day, the voivodship council members had asked themselves the question of where the money was coming from, because these zlotys will surely not drop from the sky, and nobody was going to bring them in a briefcase.

At the deliberations the previous day (27 April), the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council (WRN) in Bydgoszcz had made an analysis of the possibilities of resolving the WPK wage problem. Large amounts are involved. Thus, if the WRN is to take on the burden of raises for the enterprise, this will be at the cost of other social goals which the council had before it. Up until then a stereotype was in operation as the consequence of the state's caretaker role.

It is high time to start thinking in categories which take into account the self-financing of enterprises and voivodships. Nobody from the central government is going to come with a bag full of money, so it will be necessary to consider how much the Voivodship National Council can trim its budget, which even so is not taking into account all of the region's needs.

Councillor Zdzislaw Ostrowski said: "We are in favor of comprehensive development of the voivodship. Therefore, we must consider whether a forced pay raise will not create a swing in the plans for the voivodship's socioeconomic development."

Presidium members therefore proposed that the effects of the new financing system be spread over the enterprise itself, the passengers, and the WRN budget, because these same funds must be used to expand the thermal electric plant in Bydgoszcz as soon as possible—any increase in the number of apartments depends on this project—and to erect nine schools, to continue construction of the opera, which is now well along, and to finance public health and educational needs.

Many possibilities for saving additional funds are noted at WPK, where improved management or greater savings of fuel, electricity, and tires could provide about 50 million zlotys over the course of a year. Why, for example, are there empty articulated busses running long routes all over town from 4 to 6 in the morning, when minibusses could transport people? The presidium recommended that the voivodship draft a variant proposal for raising ticket prices. A surcharge of 3 zlotys on the present 15-z loty tickets would provide 400 million zlotys. The present stock of 50 million tickets in old denominations would permit such a solution.

The Voivodship People's Council will make the final decisions on financing the raises in the Bydgoszcz WPK at its session on 4 May. "The situation is complex, but nobody will solve it for us," presidium members said.

Warsaw drivers, whose wages have been loudly discussed all over the country, did not receive pay increases "from above" either. Nearly half the pay raises in the capital MZK is to be worked out in the enterprise itself. At MZK a very strict program to save fuel and labor along with increasing income is already being carried out. Part of this will come from introducing ticket vending machines all day long, thus eliminating a large share of the people who "accidentally" ride without a ticket. The rest of the money is to come from the capital's budget surplus, but after all that surplus could be used instead to set up four more preschools, for example, but the Warsaw voivodship councilors decided that the problem of urban transportation had become more important.

Where Is the Federation Aiming To Go?

Before the "Bydgoszcz Monday" came, efforts were taken to making the urban transportation situation better all over the country. On 15 February the Federation

of Urban Transportation Employee Trade Unions sent the government a note calling for worker wages to be made equal to the mean wage in industry. The Minister of Transportation, Shipping, and Communication responded to it, but trade unionists claim that the answer never reached them.

At the Bydgoszcz WPK yard we met on Monday with Wieslaw Gicel, chairman of the federation.

The chairman said: "Since 6 April we have been in a collective dispute with the government, as provided for in the trade union law. This dispute concerns the situation of all urban transportation enterprises. We are expecting them to respond to our problems."

The federation's talks at the transport ministry will begin on Thursday.

Given this fact, was the conflict in Bydgoszcz necessary? According to some of the participants, yes. On the other hand, though, at the time of increasing law and order we must not overlook the fact that at Bydgoszcz the law was manipulated, whether on purpose or not. Despite what the trade unionists say, it was a strike, and an illegal one to boot.

The 1982 trade union law clearly specifies who may organize a strike and how. Any form of collective protest incurs high costs. This is why the law dictates that before there is a strike all conciliatory procedures must be exhausted and that finally the issue must go to a Supreme Court arbitration committee, because it may turn out that what the workers wished to achieve through a strike can be negotiated at a conference table or in court.

People in Bydgoszcz say that this was not a strike organized by the trade unions, and so the law has nothing to do with it, but after all, the law states that only trade unions are authorized to organize strikes and other forms of protest. Such a statement only emphasizes the illegal nature of the actions taken.

We must remember that anyone who directs a strike organized in violation of provisions of the law should count on the consequences for which the law provides. The law also has a provision which becomes understandable particularly using the example of the Bydgoszcz WPK. It says that the decision to strike will be announced 7 days before it is to begin. Passengers, residents of Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw, who were rushing to their daily occupations were not warned of the protest.

Today nobody knows how to calculate how much this spontaneous action cost. This happened in a time when we are talking about the progressive democratization of our life and growing political culture, to which we all aspire.

10790

Brigade System Productivity Appraised
26000346e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Worker Self-Management and Personnel Policy"]

[Text] The example of partnership groups, or what we call the brigade system of work, has shown that under the same production conditions it is possible to increase labor productivity by several dozen percentage points without any increase in employment. The brigades are achieving these results primarily as the result of better organization of the whole production process. If this experience were transferred to plants and enterprises, it would turn out that employment rationalization in some instances could be the fundamental condition to production growth, according to Dr Wladyslaw Lakowski, on 27 April at the seminar sponsored by the Working Class Research Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Center for Self-Management Studies.

10790

Sejm Commission Discusses Video Issues
26000345f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
29 Apr 88 p 4

[Article: "Video Problems"]

[Text] (From our own sources) Video is one of those phenomena that take on great qualitative significance. It can facilitate culture, but it can also act against it. This was the statement which Deputy Piotr Stefanski (Democratic Party), head of the Sejm Culture Commission, made at the beginning of that body's deliberations on 28 April. At the session the commission discussed wide-ranging problems related to technical support and the place of video in the dissemination of culture.

Jerzy Bajdor, chairman of the Cinematography Committee, emphasized that we find ourselves on the eve of a great revolution in the sphere of communications and data transmission. It is estimated that at this moment there are about 700,000 video cassette receivers in Poland. There are about 300 film titles recorded on 12 million cassettes in circulation. Each year about 4 million cassettes come onto the market. Up to the present time there have been 32 state lending facilities and 100 private ones. The range of programs offered is continually increasing. At the present time state lending facilities have about 100 Polish film titles and 30 foreign ones, but this latter figure will increase by 77 films, which were bought from Warner Brothers.

The cinema law has broken the state monopoly on film production and dissemination. Promising distributors have also appeared on the market, including the Polish-American firm of Hanna Barbera Poland, ITI, and Videx in Gdansk.

In connection with the complicated problems raised by video, it has been proposed that by the end of May an interministry coordination commission be established to define the current and long-ranging tasks in this area.

Joint author Deputy Tadeusz Kijonski (PZPR) was critical, calling the situation "the absurd squared." After all, is it not absurd that out of 2,000 titles on the market, only 100 of the films are Polish! Despite legal regulations in the video sphere, the black market and video piracy are thriving. The deputy was against the financing and tax policy in this area of culture.

In the course of the discussion, there was controversy over the matter of having the Kasprzak and Doria plants mobilize production of domestic video cassette recorders.

The delegates expressed concern that this new mass medium was not being adequately utilized in the sphere of culture. The commission is preparing for the government a special opinion on video.

The following deputies took the floor during the discussion: Tadeusz Myslik (SD), Jerzy Kawalerowicz (PZPR), Wojciech Zukrowski (no party affiliation), and Jozef Ozga-Michalski (ZSL).

10790

Rural Socioeconomic Conditions Need Improvement

26000345g Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
26 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Concern Over Improvement of Rural Living Conditions"]

[Text] Efforts to increase farm production and improve the nation's nutrition must be accompanied by steps aimed at upgrading rural socioeconomic conditions. Progress in this area is an essential condition to retaining young educated farmers in agriculture, according to the statement made on 25 April in Warsaw during a joint session of the National Council of Rural Housewives and the Rural Socioeconomic Conditions Commission, Main Council, National Union of Farmers, Agrarian Circles, and Agricultural Organizations. The meeting was called to assess the implementation of the organization's resolution on its role in activity to improve rural living conditions.

10790

Excessive Leave Time, Excuses Assailed

26000346g Warsaw *ZYCIE WARSZAWY* in Polish
22 Apr 88 p 3

[Letter by Janusz Handerek: "Work Time Irregularities," originally published in *GAZETA KRAKOWSKA*, 8 Apr 88]

[Text] Hard as it may be to believe it, it is a most certain fact that the legal system in force in our country provides more than 50 just causes for being excused from work. With pay, of course, out of the public pocket book.

Today employees are agreeing to lower earnings in those plants where it is easy to break away. We all know about this from experience. A substantial proportion of the people standing in various lines throughout the day or occupying the tables in cafes are people currently at work. The handling of private business during working hours has already become such an honorable custom that nobody becomes upset or complains.

There was a brief news item in *DZIENNIK TELEWIZYJNY* that was symptomatic. They showed a Saturday holiday at one of the neighborhood administration offices in Warsaw. The office was in operation, but there were no members of the public there. You would therefore have to be stupid to waste your private time handling your private business on a Saturday holiday, when you could take a work pass the following Monday to go to administrative office then. And it is the socialist state that is paying for this wasted time! It is a question of having it pay, because that is what a socialist state is for.

It is also to pay for people to participate in various conferences, meetings, and get-togethers. It has been calculated that each day more than 150,000 employees attend these things. Anyone travelling to Warsaw frequently knows that the two morning expresses from Krakow to Warsaw are overcrowded with people on business, and it is sometimes difficult to get a reserved seat on the Krakus or Pienina express.

10790

Report on Youth 'Pathology' Complete; Publication Expected Soon

26000329c Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
9, 10 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Children and Youth Threatened by Pathology"]

[Text] From our own correspondent—Two years ago the Council of Ministers analyzed the threat to Polish society from social pathology. At that time, it adopted a program for further action to prevent crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and social parasitism.

One of the tasks adopted at that time was the preparation of a report on the threat to children and youth.

On the order of the former minister for youth affairs, the Institute for the Study of Problems of Youth prepared the report. On 8 April 1988, its director, Prof Jan Bogusz, and the Group for the Study of Social Pathology presented the finished report to journalists. It contains not only rich materials that show the barriers to social adaptation the psycho-social mechanisms for failed adaptation, and the dimensions of pathology in Poland in the 1980's, but also a handful of recommendations for concrete action.

The voluminous document was handed over to the political bodies and decision-makers. We will attempt to present its contents in our pages.

13021

Fewer Youth Summer Jobs Noted

26000333l Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
6 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Shortage of Jobs for OHP Youth"]

[Text] (From our own sources) This year the capital [Warsaw] command of the Volunteer Labor Brigades asked 1,500 plants and institutions to forward youth job listings for this summer. It is estimated that about 20,000 jobs are needed, but up until today only about 6,000 offers have come in, and only half of these include lodging.

Thus, this year's "OHP Summer" for Warsaw youth is not looking very promising. There will be still more young people coming from these organizations' offices with applications than there were last year. For this reason, it would be useful for the workplaces again to review the possibilities for summer youth employment, especially since the concerns related to paying the young people's wages have been resolved (they will not influence the excess remuneration tax). At the same time, there are plans to refund the workplaces' costs of paying these young people.

As in previous years, part of the young people will travel from the capital to foreign OHP camps in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we will host about 1,500 similar youngsters from these countries.

10790

University Student Association Workers' Plenum

26000333e Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish
12 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Plenum of ZSP All-Polish Council of Young Scientific Employees"]

[Text] The ZSP All-Polish Council of Young Scientific Employees held its plenum in Sobotka Slaska. The draft of changes in the scientific staff structure and in ways of scholarly advancement were discussed. The plenum was decisive in its support of the ratios presented for changes in the scientific career system. The plenum called for shortening the formal roads to advancement while insisting on a meritorically high quality of one's scholarly and teaching contribution and for broader introduction of employment contracts in the academic sphere. Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, attended the deliberations.

10790

Meeting of Poles Exploited by Third Reich

26000346f Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
28 Apr 88 p 2

[Article: "Voivodship Congresses of the Association of Poles Exploited by the German Third Reich"]

[Text] (Based on PAP information) The first voivodship organizational meetings of the newly created Association of Poles Exploited by the German Third Reich were held in Krasnystaw and Zamosc.

10790

ROMANIA

Appointment of People's Council Official in Dolj

27000080c Bucharest *BULETINUL OFICIAL*
in Romanian Part I No 21, 23 Apr 88 p 2

[Excerpts] On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article—Comrade Constantin Nescu is appointed to the position of vice chairman of the executive committee of the Dolj County Peoples Council.

[signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 22 April 1988

No 54

/9738

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Lignite Processing, Natural Gas Production Described

23000083 East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIVEN
in German No 45, 19 Apr 88 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Lignite—Valuable Energy Source and Raw Material"]

[Text] Lignite is a basic material for the generation of electrical power, city gas, heat, briquettes, pulverized lignite, coke, liquid petroleum products and a multitude of products of the chemical industry. More than 80 percent of electrical power and approximately 42 percent of city gas is generated using lignite as a base. In the 1988 national economic plan the goal has been established of producing 317.2 million tons of raw lignite. About one half of it will go into the power plants.

Seams of lignite originated in the Tertiary period. As a result of changing natural conditions, vast forest and swamp areas sank and were covered with water. That determined the material composition and structure of the forming lignite. Mineralized lignite was formed where mineralized water from the subsurface permeated deposits. The water content of the lignite seams found on the territory of the GDR varies between 50 and 58 percent.

The varieties of coal formed by natural processes are distributed in strata within the lignite seam, are detected by analysis, and are extracted selectively in the open-pit mines for their respective uses.

Approximately 65 percent of the extracted quantities of lignite is steam coal. It has an ash content of 16 to 30 percent. This variety of coal is used in power and heating plants for the generation of electrical power and heat. Additionally, about 15 million tons of sifted and lump coal are extracted from steam coal annually. In smaller plants it serves for the generation of heat and as a substitute for refined energy sources.

More than a third of the total amount produced is used to produce charcoal briquettes. It possesses an ash content of up to 15 percent. In briquette factories the coal is crushed, dried to a water content of about 20 percent, and formed into briquettes under high pressure without a binding agent. About one third of the briquettes produced supplies the needs of the populace.

In addition, lignite briquettes are an important base for more highly refined energy sources and carbon-based chemical products. Almost 30 percent of the briquettes produced are converted in a second—a thermal—processing stage into city gas and coke as well as liquid petroleum products. The coal varieties gas coal, coking coal, and low-temperature lignite coal are the basic material for this.

The VEB Gas Combine "Fritz Selbmann" in Schwarze Pumpe produces city gas from gas coal briquettes with fixed-bed pressure gasification technology. This process was developed in the GDR and is being further perfected on a continuing basis. It was possible to increase its efficiency considerably in recent years as a result of intensive scientific-technical work—above all, through the increased use of computer control systems. Thus, gas production has risen threefold since 1970. They also succeeded in reducing the amount of coal required per cubic meter of gas produced by 10 percent.

The task of increasing the production of city gas by 400 million cubic meters over that produced in 1985 was established with the 1986-1990 5-year plan. The proportion of city gas produced on the basis of lignite will thereby increase to 45 percent.

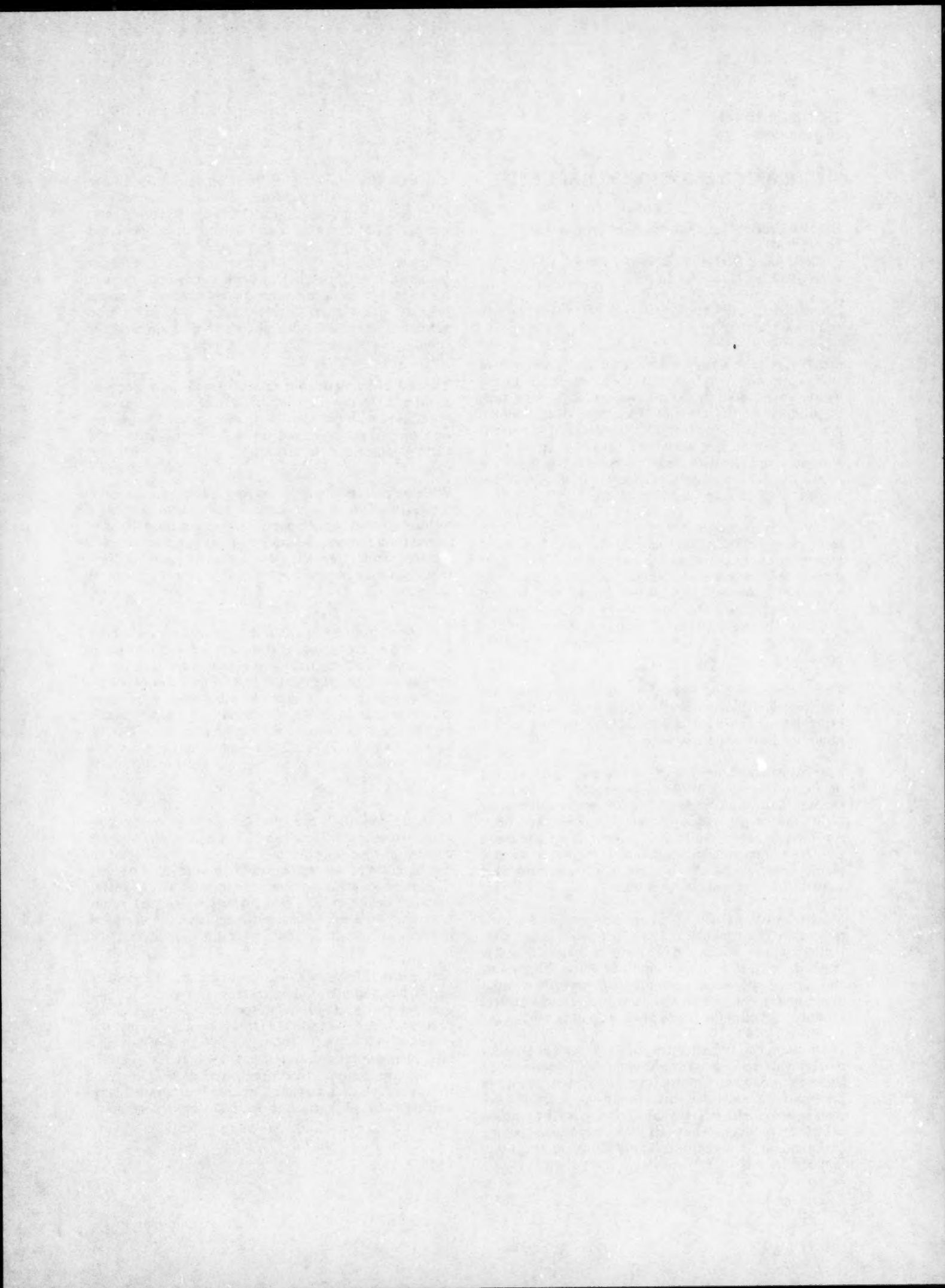
With the process of pulverized coal pressure gasification, the GDR is the only country to have at its disposal a technology with which synthetic gas can also be produced from mineralized coal. For this purpose the basic material lignite must be ground into fine powder. Synthetic gas is an important raw material for the chemical industry.

At temperatures up to 1,000 degrees Celsius and under airtight conditions, coking coal with ash contents up to 7.5 percent is converted into high-temperature lignite coke in the Schwarze Pumpe and Lauchhammer coking plants. Among other things, the 1986-1990 5-year plan stipulates that, with the production of a highly stable high-temperature lignite coke, the prerequisites are to be created to expand the substitution of bituminous coal coke in metallurgy and to increase the production of anhydrous lime.

In the Leipzig-Halle coal-producing region low-temperature lignite coal is found which has a relatively high tar content. Briquettes produced from it are converted in distilling ovens at temperatures around 550 degrees Celsius under airtight conditions into tar and low-temperature lignite coke. The light oils which also result from the processes of coal refining serve the chemical industry as basic materials for additional product.

As the 9th SED Party Congress instructed, the yield of lignite tars and oils is to be increased to over 1 million tons per year by 1990. At present, the combines of the coal and energy sectors of the economy supply the chemical industry with about 900,000 tons of tars and oils. They are thus an important raw material supplier for the production of carburetor and diesel fuel, electrode coke, plastics, elastics, Dederon [polyamide fiber], polyurethane, pharmaceuticals, and many other products.

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